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WHAT IF HENRY V HAD LIVED LONGER?

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YOUR ESSENTIAL GUIDE TO

# THE INCA EMPIRE

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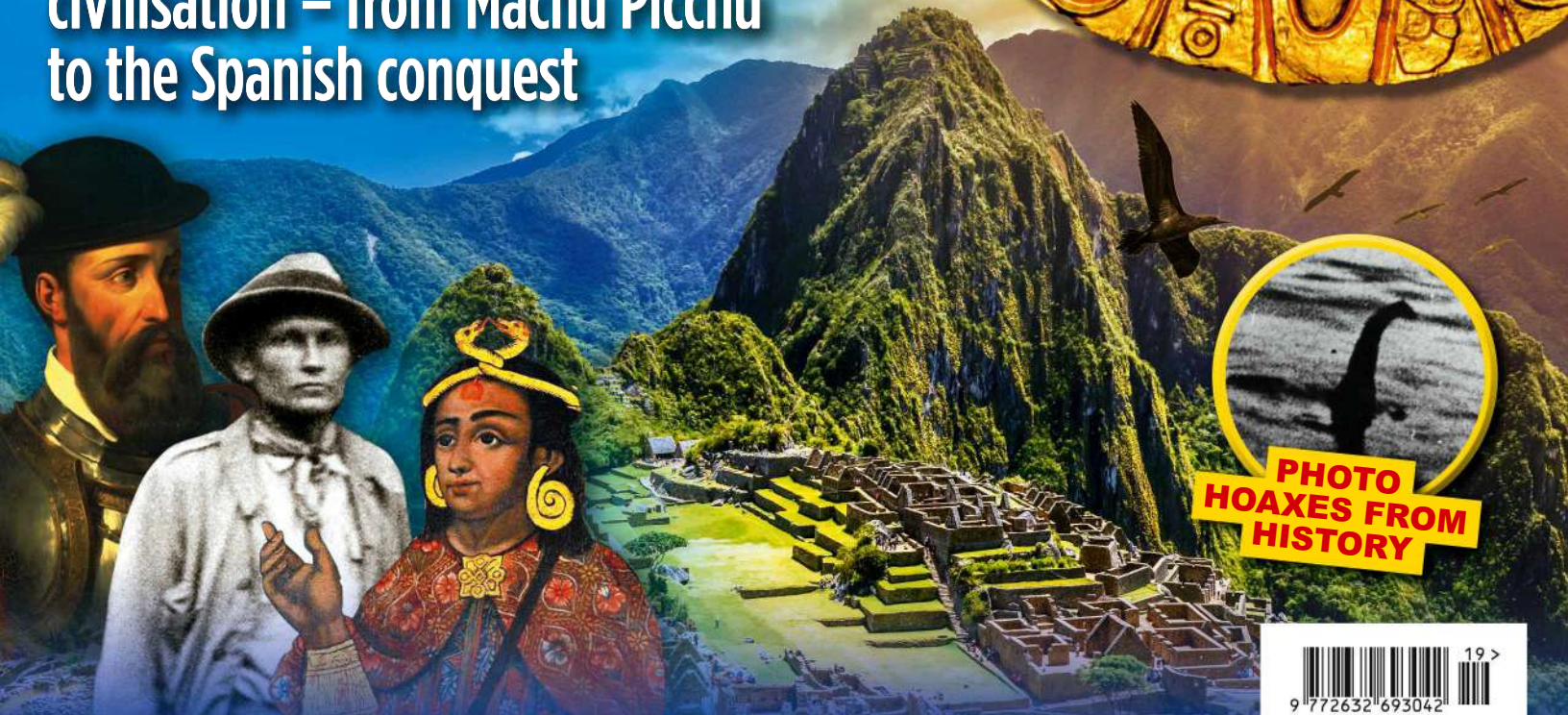

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PLUS Did Tudor armour inspire Nasa's spacesuits? Why do we say 'gossip'?

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# WELCOME APRIL 2023

The battles, buildings and beliefs of the Inca – plus their legacy in the Andes today – are the focus of this month's Essential Guide. Turn to page 27 to get started

With a vast empire that stretched from modern-day Argentina to southern Colombia, the Inca civilisation flourished for more than a hundred years before its 16th-century downfall at the hands of Spanish conquistadors. For this month's Essential Guide, we've enlisted the help of archaeologist and expert Professor Bill Sillar to **learn what life was like for the Inca** – from the creation of incredible stone cities such as Machu Picchu to religious beliefs, daily life and the Spanish conquest. Turn to page 27 to get started.

Elsewhere, we revisit the nightmare faced by survivors of **the heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis*, which was torpedoed by a Japanese submarine in July 1945 and sank in the shark-infested waters of the Philippine Sea** (*page 53*). We also take a look at some incredible hoax photographs from history – from fairies and UFOs, to ghosts and the Loch Ness Monster (*page 58*), **examine how England and France might have changed had Henry V lived longer** (*page 64*), and share some fascinating facts about Scottish history (*page 24*).

Plus, we'll also be delving into the life of Bessie Coleman, the first woman of African-American and Native American heritage to gain a pilot's licence (*page 20*), and exploring the intriguing story of Princess Caraboo (*page 14*).

See you next month!

**Charlotte Hodgman**
Editor

## THIS MONTH'S BIG NUMBERS

**61,639**
The total Chinese population in the US in 1920, according to census figures

**12**
The length of time, in minutes, that it took USS *Indianapolis* to sink, in July 1945

**16**
The number of fountains at Machu Picchu, fed by springs on the north slope of the mountain

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◀ Discover how the Spanish took advantage of a bitterly divided Inca empire and set about plundering its wealth and resources

▲ Why did the Inca include mummies in their festivities?

▲ Learn about the role played by the Sapa Inca

▲ Meet the earlier cultures that the empire built upon

▲ Find out what the Inca did for work and leisure

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SNAPSHOTS

# c1950s IN A SPIN

When it comes to stomach-turning experiences, nothing beats a spin on a Rotor. Designed and patented by the German engineer Ernst Hoffmeister in 1948, the ride became a staple of fairgrounds across Europe and North America, with one even erected in Battersea Park for the Festival of Britain in 1951. Part-ride, part-spectacle, the first Rotors featured tiered viewing platforms, around which paying audiences could watch riders take their positions around the inside wall of a spinning drum. When the drum reached full speed, the riders would experience centripetal acceleration, 'sticking' them to the wall while the floor dropped out from beneath their feet – as seen in this c1950s image, complete with props to exaggerate the effect. Rotors can still be found worldwide, but they have mostly been succeeded by a modern variant called the Gravitron.

GETTY IMAGES

SNAPSHOTS

# 1968 VIGIL FOR THE KING

The assassination of civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King Jr on 4 April 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, sent shockwaves across the US. Some of King's comrades appealed to his advocacy of nonviolence as they sought to allay the disbelief and rising anger. Nevertheless, the next two months witnessed a wave of riots sweep the nation, with people taking to the streets in more than 100 cities. In this powerful image captured just four days after his brutal death, King's widow, Coretta Scott, is seen leading the couple's children and about 40,000 people in a silent march through Memphis. She did so in honour of both her husband's memory and the city's African-American sanitation workers, whose strikes for better pay and working conditions had drawn King to Memphis in the first place.

GETTY IMAGES

SNAPSHOTS

# 1957
# MOBILE THRONE

The *sedia gestatoria* – or 'gestatorial chair' – was long a part of papal tradition. Functioning as an ornate, portable throne, the chair was used to hold popes aloft, and ensure they were able to see and be seen by legions of Catholic worshippers. Twelve footmen dressed in red known as *palafrenieri* would carry the chair upon their shoulders, while two fans known as *flabella* – made of white ostrich feathers – usually flanked the procession. The tradition is thought to have originated with the Byzantine emperors, though similar chairs may have been used in ancient Rome.

In this late 1950s snap, Pope Pius XII demonstrates the *sedia gestatoria*'s function while greeting thousands of the faithful assembled in St Peter's Square. John Paul I, who died in 1978, was the last pope to use one, as his successors have favoured the use of a bullet-proof 'popemobile' instead.

ALAMY

# THINGS WE LEARNED THIS MONTH...

## RECENT HISTORY HEADLINES THAT CAUGHT OUR EYE

MAIN: **The inside of the drain where Frank Giecco and his team found the dazzling collection of gems**

BELOW LEFT: **Two of the *intaglios* discovered in Carlisle. The precious stones all depict deities and symbols of good fortune and protection**

BELOW RIGHT: **An amethyst *intaglio* depicting Venus, the Roman goddess of beauty, either admiring herself in a mirror or holding a flower**

### ROMAN GEMS RETRIEVED FROM ANCIENT DRAIN

As many as 30 exquisitely carved stones – just a few millimetres in diameter – have been discovered at a site near Hadrian's Wall in Carlisle. Known as *intaglios*, they are believed to date from the late second century to the third century AD, and were probably lost while their owners cleansed in a bathhouse near the most important fort along the Roman empire's northern frontier. Expert Frank Giecco, who is leading the ongoing excavation, says the vegetable glue that was used to fasten such items to people's jewellery likely melted in the steamy bathhouse environment, meaning the stones became detached and were flushed away when the bathhouse was cleaned. Among the *intaglios* is an amethyst bearing a likeness of Venus, as well as a stone depicting a mouse nibbling on a branch.

ANNA GIECCO X4, GETTY IMAGES X2, UTRERA CITY HALL X1, HS2 X2

## MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS' CODED LETTERS FINALLY CRACKED

Experts have revealed that 57 mislabelled letters in the French National Library were penned by Mary, Queen of Scots while she was imprisoned on the orders of Elizabeth I. Written between 1578 and 1584 and sent mostly to Michel de Castelnau de Mauvissière, French ambassador to the English court, the messages were composed using a complex cipher, which has now been cracked using manual and computer techniques. The messages reveal Mary's anguish over her son, the future James VI and I, as well as her mistrust of Elizabeth's agents.

## EARTHQUAKES RAISE CONCERNS OVER THE CONDITION OF ANCIENT SITES

As well as causing untold human loss, the February earthquakes that devastated parts of Turkey and Syria have left many significant world heritage sites damaged, say experts. Previously considered one of Turkey's best-preserved Roman citadels, wreckage at Gaziantep Castle (*pictured above*) reflects the ferocity of the seismic activity, while in Syria, the city of Aleppo – already scarred by civil war – has had part of its old city wall reduced to rubble.

## FORMER BAR CONFIRMED AS LOST ANDALUCÍAN SYNAGOGUE

A former bar in the Spanish city of Utrera has been identified as having started life as an important medieval synagogue. The building, which has also spent parts of its existence as a hospital, disco venue and home for abandoned children, was being examined by archaeologists when they found evidence of a Torah ark area and prayer hall. Believed to have been constructed in the 14th century, the building's survival to the present day is all the more remarkable given Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion of Spain's Jewish population in 1492.

# c2,500

The number of pieces that make up the wreck of a 15th-century merchant vessel discovered on the banks of the River Usk in 2002 that is now set to be reassembled

## WARWICKSHIRE FIND COULD REWRITE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS

The Civil Wars of the 17th century may have started slightly earlier than originally thought, claim experts. Archaeologists digging along the HS2 path east of Birmingham have found a number of musket balls and pockmarks among the remains of a gatehouse at Coleshill Manor, suggesting it was attacked by parliamentarian forces during their march to Curdworth Bridge – scene of the wars' first battle in August 1642. Stuart Pierson of Wessex Archaeology has described the find as "nationally significant – and a bit more".

# ‘Princess Caraboo’ appears in Almondsbury

In 1817, a Gloucestershire village was dazzled by the arrival of a mysterious royal visitor. But, as **Danny Bird** reveals, not all was what it seemed in this strange tale of a woman who duped high society

A panorama of Bristol in 1817 – the year that Mary Willcocks found herself in the city and decided to hatch an outlandish plan

In the spring of 1817, the village of Almondsbury, some seven miles north of Bristol, hosted foreign royalty. At least, that’s what many people assumed to be the case. Rather, Mary Willcocks, the eccentric daughter of a West Country cobbler, had deceived her hosts and much of high society into believing she was the alluring Princess Caraboo from the far-flung island of Javasu in the Indian Ocean.

Born in Witheridge, Devon, details of Mary’s childhood are sketchy, though she was reputed to be of a “wild disposition”. She moved to London and worked in service, later becoming a nanny. Applying her vivid imagination, she regaled the children in her charge with fantastical stories. She revelled in the capital’s multiculturalism and became especially fascinated by the customs and diet of her employers’ Orthodox Jewish neighbours.

Following a disagreement, Mary quit and later pretended to be a prostitute in order to gain shelter at the Magdalen Hospital for reformed sex workers. After leaving there, she became pregnant by a man who abandoned her to face birth alone, before entering a workhouse. In early 1816, she entrusted her newborn son to the Foundling Hospital, where he died later that year. Bereft, Mary resolved to start out anew in the United States. She arrived in Bristol on 10 March 1817 and located a ship due to depart in 15 days. The only problem was her lack of funds for the trip.

## A ROYAL VISITOR

On 3 April, a cobbler and his wife encountered a young woman traipsing through Almondsbury dressed in outlandish garments. She spoke an unintelligible language and gestured that she was both hungry and tired. Baffled, they referred her to the overseer of the poor, who escorted her to Knole Park, home of the county magistrate, Samuel Worrall. He concluded that she was a beggar and should be tried for vagrancy. However, his American-born wife, Elizabeth, took pity and arranged accommodation at the local inn, The Bowl.

Caraboo’s eccentric dress sense helped persuade baffled onlookers that she was ‘foreign’ in origin

When the woman noticed an illustration of a pineapple in her room, she exclaimed “Ananas!”, which convinced those present that she came from a land where the fruit was commonplace. Likewise, her bemusement over the function of a bed disclosed her exotic origins. Invited back to Knole Park, the woman fixated on the Chinese motifs adorning its furnishings. Her European appearance aside, the Worralls guessed that she must have come from Asia. One day, Elizabeth wrote out her name, and, while gesturing

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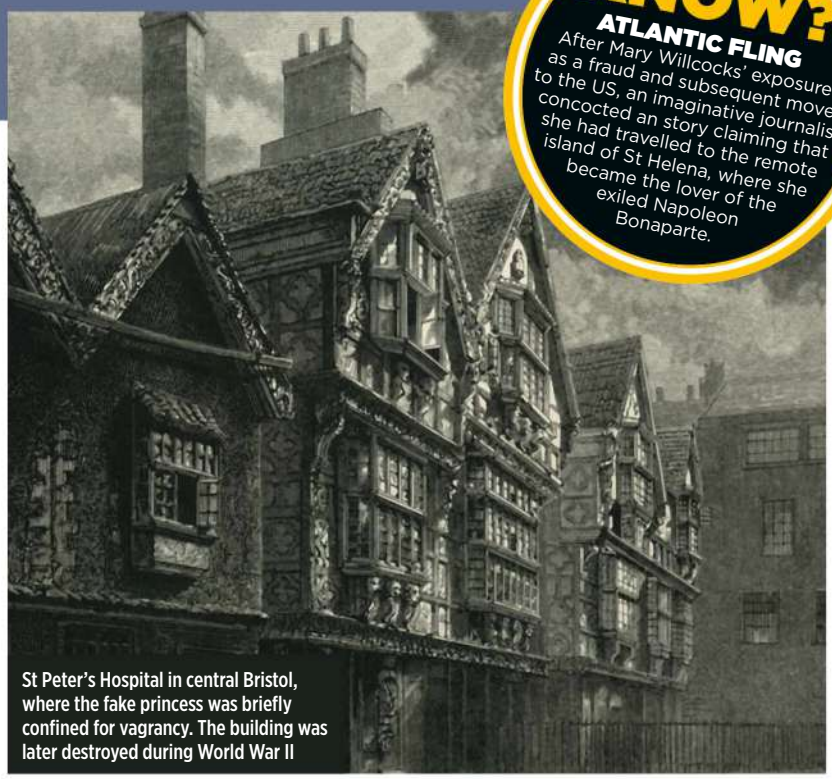


St Peter's Hospital in central Bristol, where the fake princess was briefly confined for vagrancy. The building was later destroyed during World War II

**DID YOU KNOW?**

**ATLANTIC FLING**

After Mary Willcocks' exposure as a fraud and subsequent move to the US, an imaginative journalist concocted an story claiming that she had travelled to the remote island of St Helena, where she became the lover of the exiled Napoleon Bonaparte.

> "She claimed that she had been abducted by pirates and had escaped by jumping into the Bristol Channel"

to herself and speaking it aloud, encouraged the stranger to identify herself as "Caraboo".

But Samuel remained sceptical – and brought Caraboo before Bristol's mayor. Equally perplexed, he confined her to the overcrowded and squalid St Peter's Hospital. Appalled, Elizabeth retrieved Caraboo and set her up in Samuel's Bristol office. As word of their unusual guest spread, a Portuguese sailor by the name of Manuel Eynesso (or Enes) came forward. He claimed to understand her language – and, upon engaging her in conversation – revealed that she was an East Indian princess. More than that, she had been abducted from her homeland, Javasu, by pirates but had escaped by jumping into the Bristol Channel and swimming ashore.

### LIFTING THE VEIL

Caraboo was whisked back to Knole Park and treated as an esteemed guest. The Worralls were charmed by her quirks, which included strict vegetarianism, treetop prayers to her god, "Allah Tallah", and exercise with a bow and arrow. The curious flocked to Almondsbury, enticed by the prospect of meeting her. Anthropologists proffered theories on the origin of her bizarre language, and a sample of her writing was dispatched to linguists at the University of Oxford.

One day, a Mrs Neale, the owner of a Bristol lodging house, saw an illustration of Caraboo in a newspaper and realised that she recognised her. She reached out to Elizabeth Worrall and exposed her regal visitor as an imposter. Months earlier, the young woman had been Mrs Neale's tenant, during which she had entertained her daughters with made-up languages. At around the same time, Oxford dons dismissed Caraboo's language as "humbug".

As soon as Elizabeth and Mrs Neale confronted her, Mary Willcocks crumpled, revealing herself in perfect English. Mindful of the public ridicule that threatened to damage their reputation, the Worralls arranged for Mary's passage to Philadelphia, where she could start afresh. She spent several years in the United States, where efforts to take a Princess Caraboo stage act on tour never took off, and at some point she returned to England. In later life, Mary became a businesswoman, selling leeches to the Bristol Infirmary. She died in December 1864 and was buried in an unmarked grave in the city's Bedminster district.

## OTHER ANNIVERSARIES

**A LOOK BACK AT OTHER EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN APRIL THROUGHOUT HISTORY**

### 14 April 1561

#### UFOs SPOTTED OVER NUREMBERG

Residents of Nuremberg wake up to find dozens of strange objects in the sky, apparently engaged in a dizzying battle around the Sun. Eyewitnesses observe the spectacle for more than an hour, after which a huge black 'spear' appears and the shapes fall to Earth in a cloud of smoke. By the 20th century, historians come to the conclusion that the incident was probably an illusion caused by a meteorological phenomenon known as a parhelion, or sun dog.

### 25 April 1974

#### THE CARNATION REVOLUTION BEGINS

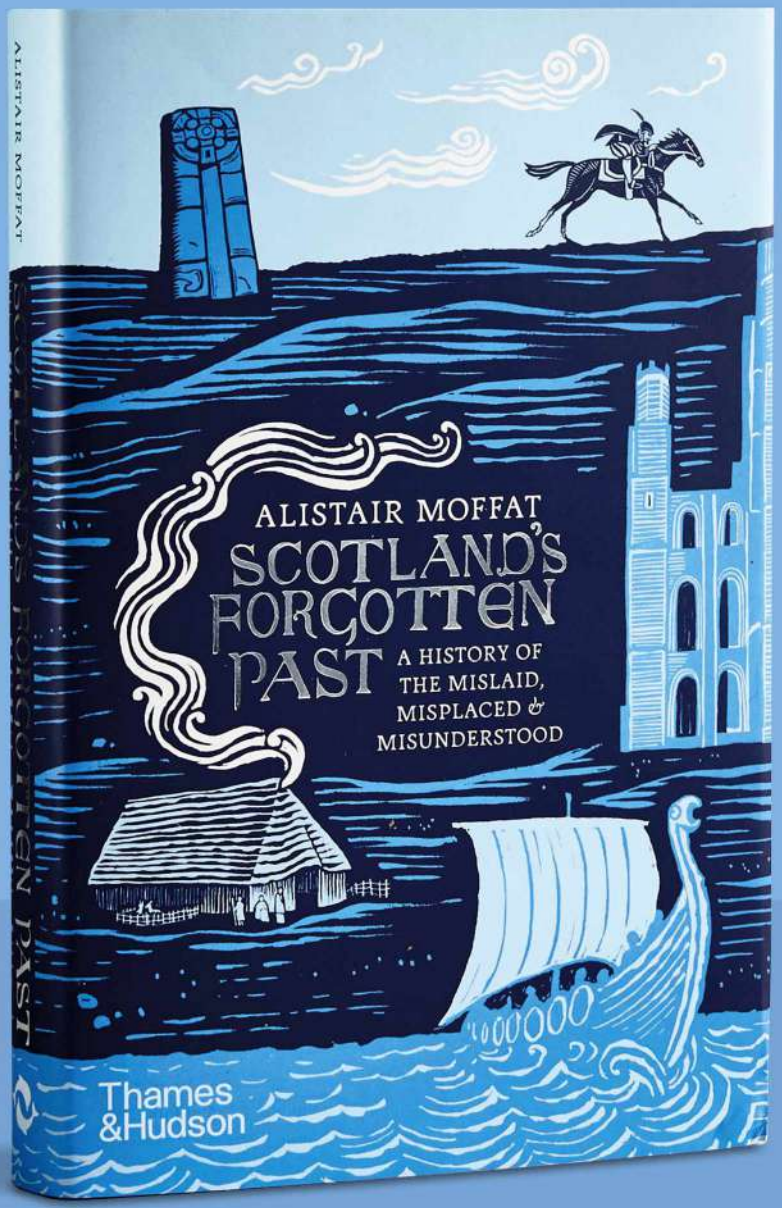
Shortly before midnight on 24 April, a Portuguese radio station broadcasts the nation's 1974 Eurovision entry – a pre-planned signal to rebel officers in the armed forces to begin their coup against the autocratic Estado Novo regime. The next day, thousands take to the streets in support of the uprising, festooning soldiers with carnations, giving the largely bloodless revolution its floral-inspired name.

### 30 April 1803

#### THE US EXPANDS

The United States doubles in size after purchasing all 828,000 square miles of the Louisiana Territory from France. The sale, which totals $15m (around four cents an acre), gives the young nation total control over the Mississippi River, while also laying the foundations for further westward expansion across North America.

FROM PIRATE KINGS TO PETER PAN WITH A LITTLE BIT OF SHAKESPEARE, DISCOVER A HIDDEN WORLD OF SCOTTISH SECRETS

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# THE HISTORY DETECTIVE

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# THE MURDER OF 'MADAME X'

**THE UNSOLVED MURDER OF A SWANSEA HOUSEWIFE WAS THE FINAL CHAPTER IN A STRANGE TALE OF FRAUD AND INTRIGUE. DR NELL DARBY REVISITS THE CASE AND REVEALS WHY SEVERAL PEOPLE MAY HAVE WANTED THE VICTIM DEAD**

On the evening of 4 February 1929, Kate Jackson returned home from a trip to the cinema with her neighbour, Olive Dimick. Shortly after they said goodnight, Olive heard a scream and, rushing back, found a bloody Kate on her doorstep with her husband Thomas bent over her. He said he had been woken by the sounds of a struggle. They called for a doctor, who found that Kate had several head wounds, yet Thomas seemed reluctant to take her to hospital, and did not stay long when he eventually did. Kate died six days later.

Suspicion soon fell on Thomas, a Swansea fishmonger, who had been living off his wife's money. He was tried at court, but acquitted, his release resulting in cheers from the community. Yet the court case had raised numerous questions about who Kate Jackson really was, where her money had come from, and who might have wanted her dead.

Kate's husband Thomas – seen here in a grainy newspaper cutting – was at the scene of the attack, but later acquitted in court

Kate had had several identities. She had been Mollie Le Grys, an illustrator of magazine stories; she had been Madame X, subject of a notorious Old Bailey trial two years before her death. She had claimed to be in fear of her life, terrified of strange cars in the area, and in possession of a revolver for her safety. Yet the court felt that Thomas had contributed to the mystery, wanting others to believe his wife had been adopting fake identities in order for them to believe she might have been subject to death threats from others.

But that wasn't the only bizarre thing about the case: in 1919, the couple had got married in London, with Thomas using the fake name of Gordon Ingram. The 1921 census recorded them as living in Surrey, under the names of Gordon Thomas Jackson Ingram and Kate Jackson Ingram. In 1922, though, they got married again in Wales under their real names. Why they had used a fake name and married twice was never adequately explained.

## BLACKMAIL AND MURDER

In fact, Kate was born Kate Atkinson, a humble cotton spinner from Lancashire. As a young woman, she had started a relationship with artist Leopold Le Grys, adopting the name of Mollie. When World War I started, they split up, with Le Grys marrying another woman (despite his wife still being alive). Kate then started a relationship with the secretary of the National Association of Coopers, George Harrison, which was largely based on her demanding money from him for 'medical treatment'. In order to keep her happy, George embezzled the entire funds of the Association. He was duly tried at the Old Bailey and sent to prison for five years. Kate was referred to in court as 'Madame X' and ended up a notorious figure.

The Old Bailey, where Kate Jackson (or 'Madame X') appeared in an embezzlement case in 1927

It was claimed that Kate had since received threatening letters from those involved in the court case, and from Le Grys, but there was no evidence that the letter-writers had killed her. After Thomas Jackson's acquittal, nobody faced justice for Kate's death, and nobody found out why she and Thomas had been keen to disguise their identities. The only thing known for certain is that a few years later, Thomas married Olive Dimick – the only other witness to the attack.

**DR NELL DARBY** is a crime historian and writer, and the presenter of the CBS Reality series *Murder by the Sea*. Her latest book is *Sister Sleuths: Female Detectives in Britain* (Pen & Sword History, 2021)

**LISTEN**

BBC RADIO 4 Eight new episodes of the true crime series *Lady Killers with Lucy Worsley* are coming to BBC Radio 4 and BBC Sounds. For details, see page 75

GETTY IMAGES X7, BRITISH NEWSPAPER ARCHIVE X1

# The Chinese Exclusion Act

In the late 19th century, rising anti-Chinese prejudice paved the way for one of the most controversial laws in US history. **Danny Bird** explains how the legislation was passed and why its legacy is still felt today

### WHAT WAS THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT?

The Chinese Exclusion Act was a federal law passed by the United States Congress that received approval from President Chester A Arthur on 6 May 1882. It was the only piece of legislation in US history to ban members of a specific nationality from entry to the country.

The law explicitly prohibited the immigration of "both skilled and unskilled laborers" from China for 10 years, although exceptions were made for those in the diplomatic service, academia and trade. However, an amendment to the act, two years later, extended the ban to Chinese citizens of all nations, and blocked resident Chinese people from re-entry to the US should they travel abroad.

### WHAT IMPACT DID CHINESE IMMIGRATION HAVE ON THE US?

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 led to a frenzy that attracted fortune-seekers across North America and drew many Chinese people over the Pacific. Their proclivity for extracting gold rankled white prospectors, who regarded them as interlopers and forced them onto less lucrative gold fields.

Later, the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad (the western section of the first transcontinental railroad) depended heavily on Chinese labour. Against the prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment within California, the overseer of the project, Charles Crocker, recruited Chinese labourers after insufficient take-up by white workers.

At the height of construction, up to 20,000 Chinese immigrants were involved, representing approximately 90 per cent of the total workforce. Despite being paid meagre salaries and forced to fund their own sustenance, they toiled through some of the route's trickiest sections – such as the Sierra Nevada Mountains – and regularly put their lives at risk. In 1869, a crew mostly comprising Chinese workers laid a record-breaking 10 miles of track in a single day.

### WHY DID ANTI-CHINESE SENTIMENT GAIN A FOOTING IN THE US?

The late 1860s and early 1870s were a time of economic struggle in the US, triggered by the turmoil of the American Civil War. With a need for new workers, the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 lifted virtually all restrictions on Chinese immigration – with the western US being their main destination. However, anti-Chinese hostility in California quickly reached boiling point, with white and Hispanic communities viewing the newer arrivals with suspicion – not least their tendency to accept work for lower wages. These tensions exploded on 24 October 1871, with the lynching of 18 Chinese people in Los Angeles at the hands of a 500-strong mob.

Almost four years later, Congress passed the Page Act, which effectively barred east Asian women from entering the US on 'immorality' grounds. This, combined with the president of the American Medical Association's opinion that Chinese sex workers were the main culprits in outbreaks of syphilis, deepened the idea that curbing Chinese immigration was necessary for public health.

BELOW LEFT: **Despite their contributions to the project, no Chinese workers are visible in this iconic image of labourers celebrating the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869**

BELOW RIGHT: **An 1882 cartoon highlights the isolation of Chinese immigrants next to those allegedly more 'deserving' of being kept out of the US**

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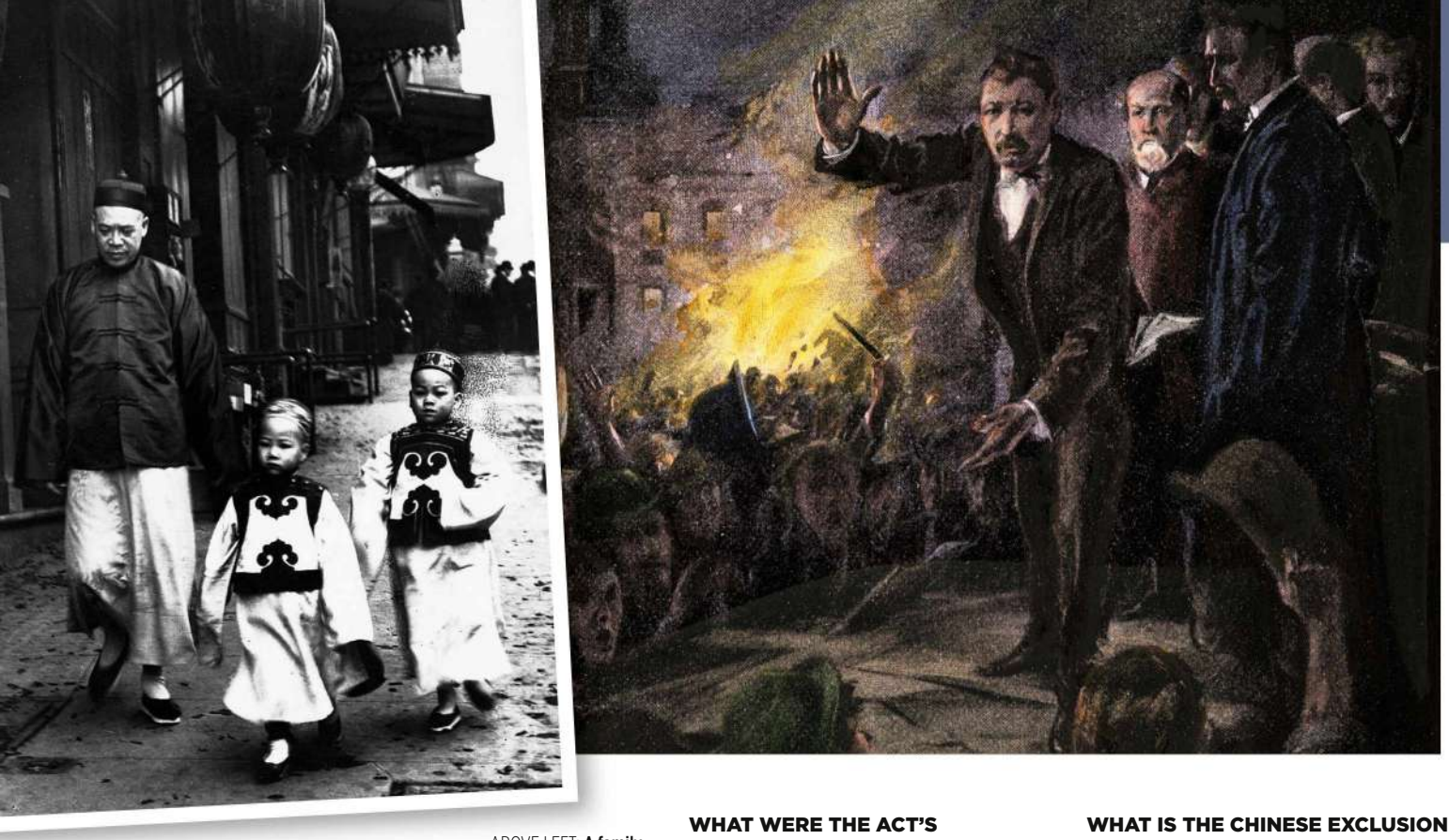

As the economy stumbled, white labour leaders and politicians began openly blaming the Chinese population and demonising Chinatowns in major cities as dens of iniquity and vice. Prospective candidates within both the Republican and Democratic parties also started to adopt specifically anti-Chinese platforms in a bid to woo the electorate.

### WHICH FIGURES WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING THE ACT PASSED?

Prominent California labour leaders like Denis Kearney constantly berated Chinese workers in both their writings and their speeches. In one address, in 1878, Kearney described them as "whipped curs, abject in docility, mean, contemptible and obedient in all things". Overall, Kearney and his followers believed that the willingness of Chinese workers to accept low salaries and toil in dreadful conditions was putting them in direct competition with their white counterparts and depressing wages for all.

However, one of the biggest names in getting the act passed was the California senator John F Miller, who entered office in 1881. A former Union Army general during the Civil War, Miller seized upon the anti-Chinese prejudice from the outset of his political career, sponsoring discriminatory measures within his state prior to the national ban. During a debate on the proposed legislation, Miller made his overtly racist views plain when he distinguished the "superiority" of white men like Isaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln against "all the Chinese who have lived, and struggled, and died".

ABOVE LEFT: **A family walks through San Francisco's Chinatown district in 1904. Chinese culture endured in the US in spite of the act**

ABOVE RIGHT: **Labour leader Denis Kearney whipped up anti-Chinese bigotry using crude rhetoric**

BELOW: **A Chinese butcher poses for a photograph outside his San Francisco shop in the mid-1880s**

### WHAT WERE THE ACT'S CONSEQUENCES?

According to census figures, the total Chinese population of the US dropped from 105,465 in 1880 to just 61,639 in 1920. Bans on re-entering the country tore families apart and forced many people to return home for good, while anti-Chinese sentiment flared up into violence and even massacres – most notoriously at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885 and Hells Canyon, Oregon, in 1887. Despite the hostility they faced, several Chinese immigrants took the US government to court and won cases that found the law to be unconstitutional, while others circumvented it and gained entry to the US illegally.

> "Nativist ideology continued to direct US immigration policy well into the 20th century"

### WHAT IS THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT'S LEGACY TODAY?

Four years after the act was passed, the Statue of Liberty was dedicated in New York Harbor – a symbol of America's self-image as a land of welcome and opportunity that stood in stark contrast to the legislation that had transformed it into an exclusionary one. The 1892 Geary Act – which obligated Chinese residents to carry papers – extended the ban by another 10 years, before being made indefinite in 1904. A raft of additional measures that aspired to limit immigrants from across eastern and southern Asia soon followed.

Nativist ideology continued to direct US immigration policy well into the 20th century, and it wasn't until 1943 that the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed by the Magnuson Act. Chinese nationals were now able to apply for naturalised US citizenship, although a quota allowing just 105 new Chinese immigrants into the country each year was adopted. This aspect of the system wasn't abolished until the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed in 1965.

In the early 2010s, Congress formally expressed its regret for the anti-Chinese laws of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the nativist legacy of the period that produced them remains a potent force in US politics. More recently, the ongoing tensions between Washington and Beijing in 2023 attest to a chequered past defined by mutual suspicion.

**LISTEN**

Professor Mae Ngai discusses the history of anti-Chinese prejudice in the US on a recent episode of the *HistoryExtra* podcast: *historyextra.com/chinese-prejudice*

# Bessie Coleman: boundary-breaking pilot

**Jonny Wilkes** delves into the life of the fearless female aviator who refused to be held back by discrimination, and who did her utmost to ensure that other people of colour could follow in her footsteps

While working as a manicurist in Chicago in 1919, twenty-something Bessie Coleman decided what she wanted to do with her life: fly. She had heard about heroic World War I aces and death-defying aviators wowing crowds with their aerobatic antics, and desperately wanted to be part of it. The chances of her taking to the skies were extremely slim. For one thing, she was a woman; for another, she was black. But when her brother teased her by saying a black woman would never fly, Coleman's mind was made up. "That's it! You just called it for me!"

All she had was an insatiable motivation – she certainly didn't have money. Elizabeth Coleman had been born, on 26 January 1892, into an impoverished family in Texas, the 10th of 13 children to African-American mother Susan and father George, who was part-Cherokee. They worked as sharecroppers and labourers, and a young 'Bessie' had to help pick cotton and walk for miles just to attend a one-room school. Although naturally bright and inquisitive, she could only afford one semester at university.

## BARNSTORMING SUCCESS

Her move from Waxahachie, Texas, to Chicago came in the early stages of the Great Migration – when African-Americans left the South in their millions to find greater opportunities in the North – but prejudice could not so easily be escaped. In 1919, the city erupted into race riots. Yet that same year, Coleman found hope in tales of aviation, especially of the female pilots in France that her brother saw while fighting in the war.

It quickly became clear that he wasn't entirely wrong for thinking a black woman would never fly, given that his sister's many applications to flight schools were instantly dismissed.

"I refused to take no for an answer," became Coleman's mantra. If she could not learn in the US, she would head to France where the aviation scene was highly renowned, and more welcoming. To pay for the trip, she scrimped and saved from various jobs before securing the support of Robert Abbott, owner of the African-American newspaper the *Chicago Defender*. At night, she taught herself French.

A portrait of Bessie Coleman in her flying garb. The Texas-born pilot had to travel to France in order to earn her wings

In 1920, Coleman travelled to France and started training at the Caudron Brothers' School of Aviation in Le Crotoy. For seven months, she flew a Nieuport 82 biplane that didn't even have brakes, so on each landing she relied on a metal bar underneath hooking the ground. But she had found her calling, and on 15 June 1921, Coleman became the first woman of black, and Native American, heritage to earn an international pilot's licence.

This allowed her to return to the US and – after a hasty jaunt back to Europe for some extra aerobatics training – take up barnstorming. A popular form of entertainment in the 1920s, pilots would perform all manner of tricks and stunts, from loops and tailspins to walking on the wings and parachuting back to Earth. From her debut flight in September 1922, and in borrowed planes as she didn't have her own, Coleman became a headline-grabbing barnstormer, earning nicknames like 'Queen Bess' and 'Brave Bessie'.

More than an entertainer, Coleman wanted to inspire people of colour to take up aviation, especially women. "The air is the only place free of prejudice," she said. She gave talks about her flights and performed across the country, refusing to participate in air shows with segregated entrances. And when offered the lead role in a film, Coleman turned it down because it would have required dressing in rags, which she saw as a demeaning representation of poor black people. Her greatest ambition was to set up her own flight school.

## TRAGEDY IN THE SKIES

Just a few months into her barnstorming, however, Coleman suffered a crash – and in her first plane, a Curtiss JN-4 'Jenny'. After the engines stalled, she nosedived 300 feet and broke several ribs and one of her legs. Although absolutely determined to return to the skies as soon as she recovered, it would take a couple of years before Coleman was properly flying again. Still, she bought herself a second Jenny.

But on 30 April 1926, while preparing for a show in Jacksonville, Florida, her plane span out of control and Coleman was thrown from the open cockpit at around 2,000 feet, plummeting to her death. Mechanic William Wills, who was flying the Jenny, died in the crash. Coleman's flying career was short, but long enough for her to become a heroine in the African-American community. Thousands attended her funeral, and her eulogy was read by co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Ida B Wells.

Coleman's fate was that of many early aviators, but she was nothing like them. She broke through the limitations placed on her for both her race and gender, and earned the respect of the flying community. William Powell, who founded the Bessie Coleman Aero Club a few years after her death, wrote that thanks to her, "We have overcome that which was worse than racial barriers. We have overcome the barriers within ourselves and dared to dream."

GETTY X1, ALAMY X3

Coleman pictured in c1922, around the same time she made her debut flight. Her astonishing aerial stunts would earn her the monikers 'Queen Bess' and 'Brave Bessie'

**"Coleman's flying career was short, but long enough to become a heroine within the African-American community"**

RIGHT: **Members of the Bessie Coleman Aero Club. Founded a few years after its namesake's death, the organisation sought to encourage black men and women to take to the skies**

FAR RIGHT: **Coleman poses for a studio portrait in Chicago. Her life tragically came to an end aged 34 while preparing for a show in Jacksonville, Florida**

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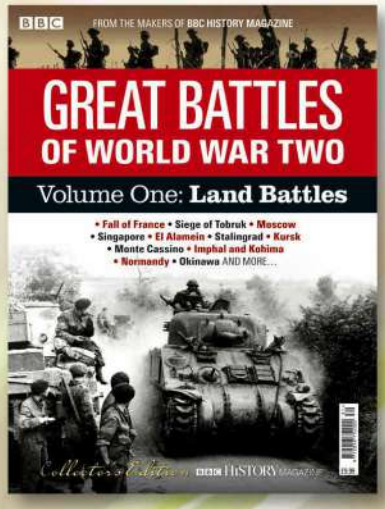
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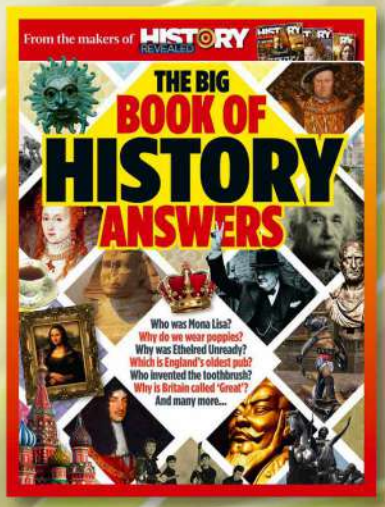
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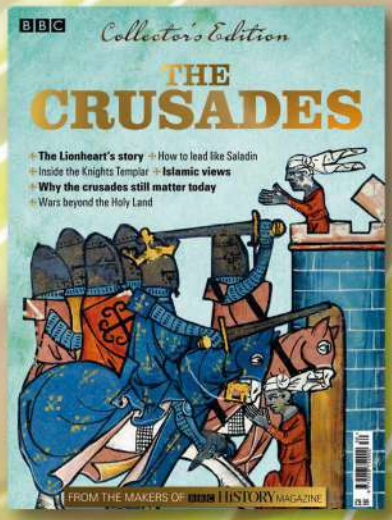


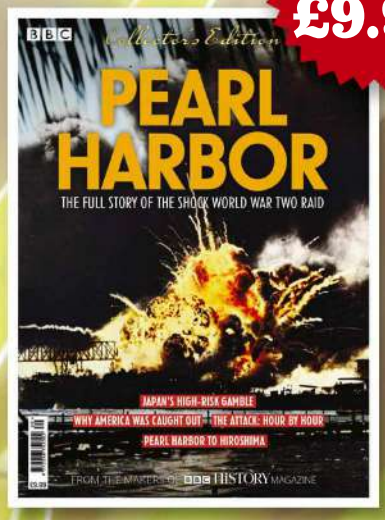
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# 8 THINGS YOU (PROBABLY) DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT SCOTTISH HISTORY

**Dr William Knox** shares a selection of lesser-known facts about the Scots' proud heritage, busting numerous myths along the way

An illustration from c1780 showing the four "ancient inhabitants of Great Britain", among them a Caledonian and a Pict

## 1 THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A 'PURE' OR 'ORIGINAL' SCOT

Contrary to popular belief, there is no common ancestral or genetic heritage linking the peoples of Scotland. The country was originally a patchwork quilt of various tribes who certainly never thought of themselves as 'Scottish'. Their allegiance was firmly with their own kith and kin, and it was only during their campaigns against Roman imperialism that they built federations that laid the basis of kingdoms. Overall, ancient Scotland was made up of four separate groups – Angles, Britons, Picts and Gaels (or Scoti) – who each spoke their own language.

## 2 KENNETH MACALPIN WAS NOT THE FIRST KING OF SCOTLAND, AS THE POPULAR CLAIM GOES

What ninth-century king Kenneth MacAlpin did was take advantage of the severely weakened Picts, following a wave of Viking raids, and unite the kingdom of the Gaels with that of Pictavia. But while he ruled – from AD 843 to his death in AD 858 – over everything north of the River Forth, large parts of the country remained in the hands of the Vikings, while in the south the Anglo-Saxons ruled.

MacAlpin was referred to as King of the Picts, a title conferred on him at his coronation on Moot Hill at Scone, Perthshire. It was not until the reign of Donald II (AD 889–900) that the monarch became known as the *ri Alban*, or King of Alba. MacAlpin's achievement was to create a dynasty that gradually extended the territorial borders of Scotland both north and south, although it would not be until 1469 that the Scotland of today was established.

ABOVE: **A sign marking the spot on Moot Hill, Perth, where kings such as Kenneth MacAlpin were crowned**

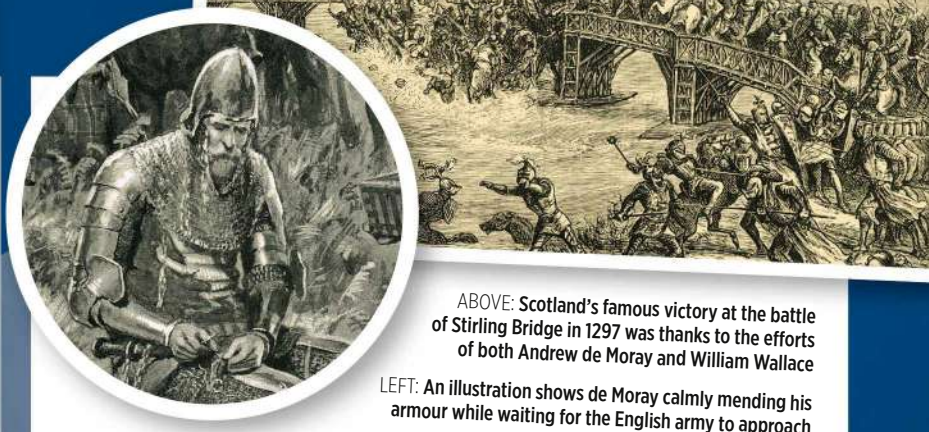
RIGHT: **An 18th-century depiction of MacAlpin by the Scottish engraver Alexander Bannerman**

GETTY IMAGES X5, ALAMY X5

Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was William the Lion who is said to have added the lion rampant to the Royal Standard of Scotland

## 3 WILLIAM THE LION, DESPITE HIS NAME, WAS NOT A STRONG AND FEARLESS KING

**Although his reign, from 1165 to 1214, was the second-longest in Scottish history, few kings were as humiliated as William the Lion. Captured by the English at the battle of Alnwick in 1174, he gained his release by signing the Treaty of Falaise, which recognised English dominion over Scotland. He continued to rule only with the permission of the Crown south of the border, until the treaty was repealed in 1189 when the Scots agreed to pay a hefty sum of money. William's humiliation did not end there. In 1200, he was forced to pay homage to King John for lands he held in England. His nickname, therefore, has nothing to do with his statecraft, but his contribution to heraldry: he was the king who put the lion rampant on the Royal Banner of Scotland.**



ABOVE: **Scotland's famous victory at the battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297 was thanks to the efforts of both Andrew de Moray and William Wallace**

LEFT: **An illustration shows de Moray calmly mending his armour while waiting for the English army to approach**

## 4 WILLIAM WALLACE WAS NOT THE ONLY PATRIOTIC LEADER TO FIGHT AGAINST THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION

William Wallace gets the glory for the early years of the First War of Scottish Independence, but equally important was Andrew de Moray. In the winter of 1296–97, he escaped from an English prison and immediately began to organise the resistance in the north. By the end of 1297, his forces were in control of Morayshire and in possession of the region's key castles, including Elgin and Inverness.

De Moray's success was matched by Wallace's in the south. After the victory at the battle of Stirling Bridge in September 1297, de Moray was mentioned along with Wallace in letters as "the leaders of the army of the realm of Scotland". However, victory came at a price: de Moray was wounded in the fighting and died later that year.

While Wallace became a legend after his execution in 1305, some historians have argued that the successful campaign of 1297 owed more to de Moray than his more celebrated contemporary.

## 5 THE SCOTS NEVER WON A BATTLE WHEN THEY WERE FAVOURITES

In 1513, the largest Scottish army ever assembled to invade England met a smaller force at Flodden Field, but were annihilated. In a matter of hours, the Scots suffered 10,000 casualties, and lost their king, James IV. Again, at Solway Moss in 1542, a 15,000–18,000-strong Scottish force was crushed by just 3,000 English soldiers, with 1,200 taken prisoner. The defeat was so demoralising that James V supposedly took to his bed and died of shame.

The Scots always seemed to do best when fighting as the underdogs. At Stirling Bridge, an outnumbered Scottish army lacking in cavalry managed to inflict a devastating defeat on their southern neighbours. Then, at Bannockburn 17 years later, an English army around twice the size of the Scots was decimated by Robert the Bruce. And as for the ragtag army mustered by Bonnie Prince Charlie in the 1745 Jacobite rising, that walked through Scotland and into England as far as Derby, only turning back when it realised it hadn't garnered enough English support.

RIGHT: **A Victorian-era statue of Robert the Bruce – hero of the 1314 battle of Bannockburn**

BELOW: **Re-enactors play out scenes from England's victory at the 1513 battle of Flodden Field**

General George Monck was key in bringing Scotland under English control

Oliver Cromwell (*centre*) depicted with his troops before the battle of Dunbar – a clash that would prove disastrous for the Scots

## 6 THE BOAST THAT SCOTLAND HAS 'NEVER BEEN CONQUERED' IS NONSENSE

**This often-repeated claim is part of Scottish folklore, handed down from one generation to the next. There are actually a few grains of truth contained in the assertion that Scotland has never been conquered: the Romans were so frustrated in their attempts to conquer Caledonia that they resorted to building walls to keep the warring tribes out. Likewise, Edward I, the so-called 'hammer of the Scots', occupied large swathes of territory, but the resistance that sparked led to his son Edward II's defeat at the 1314 battle of Bannockburn.**

**However, the patriotic boast begins to look more than a little threadbare when we take into account the Cromwellian occupation in the 1650s. Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army inflicted a crushing defeat at Dunbar in 1650, despite being outnumbered, and followed it up with another at Worcester exactly a year later. There, some 3,000 Scots were killed and more than 10,000 taken prisoner, including almost all the leaders. Under the terms of the Tender of Union, Scotland was incorporated into the Commonwealth, with 29 out of 31 shires and 44 of 58 royal burghs assenting.**

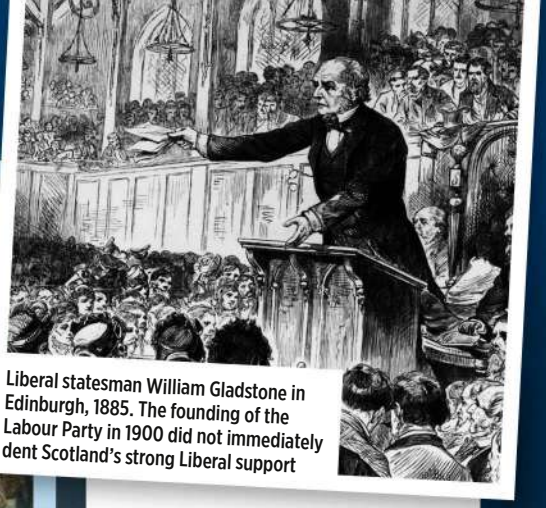
**In this Cromwellian union, the Scottish parliament was dissolved in return for 30 seats in Westminster. Half of these were held by English officers. With General George Monck in charge, the conquest of Scotland was complete, and it would only be the political chaos that followed Cromwell's death in 1658 that allowed the Scots to regain their sovereignty.**

## 8 SECTARIANISM WAS NOT JUST A WEST COAST PHENOMENON

Most people probably identify Catholic and Protestant rivalry with Glasgow and its satellite towns. But the bitterest sectarian conflicts of the 20th century did not take place there; instead, they occurred in middle-class Edinburgh.

Under the leadership of John Cormack, founder of the Protestant Action Society, the city's Catholics faced harassment and violence during the 1930s. Pressure was put on employers to sack Catholic employees; priests were spat on in the streets; and every Sunday, congregations were subject to verbal and physical assault. On top of this, huge demonstrations were held to disrupt important events in the Catholic Church's calendar. The worst incident was the riot of 1935, when Cormack led a mob of some 10,000 Protestants against the Eucharistic Congress taking place at the Catholic priory in Morningside.

The Protestant Action Society was rewarded with seats on the Edinburgh city council; indeed, in the municipal elections of 1936, they won 31.97 per cent of the vote, pushing Labour into third place and returning nine councillors. But their popularity was short-lived, as the outbreak of war in 1939 pushed sectarianism onto the sidelines of politics in Edinburgh. Cormack, however, would serve many years as a local councillor, eventually retiring in 1962.



Liberal statesman William Gladstone in Edinburgh, 1885. The founding of the Labour Party in 1900 did not immediately dent Scotland's strong Liberal support

## 7 THE LABOUR PARTY WAS NOT A WHOLLY WORKING-CLASS PARTY IN SCOTLAND

Although working people have long constituted the largest section of society in Scotland, that did not mean they were always Labour supporters. In fact, most Scottish workers in the early years of the 20th century voted Liberal, and it was only after World War I that this started to shift in Labour's favour. Even then, this was never hegemonic: the religious divisions in Scotland ensured there was always a sizeable vote for the Protestant working-class Unionists (a party that merged with the Conservatives in 1965).

The Labour Party in Scotland was an alliance of skilled male workers and the middle class – as such, its members tended to preach against the class-based politics advocated by those on the far left. In fact, a study of the social backgrounds of interwar Labour MPs found that only around 45 per cent of them came from non-manual backgrounds. This trend only intensified after 1945.

**DR WILLIAM KNOX** is an honorary senior lecturer in history at the University of St Andrews. He is the author of several books, including *Scottish History for Dummies* (John Wiley & Sons, 2014)

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**LISTEN**

Historian Dr Iain MacInnes explores the 13th and 14th-century Scottish Wars on the *HistoryExtra* podcast. Listen now at *historyextra.com/scottish-history*

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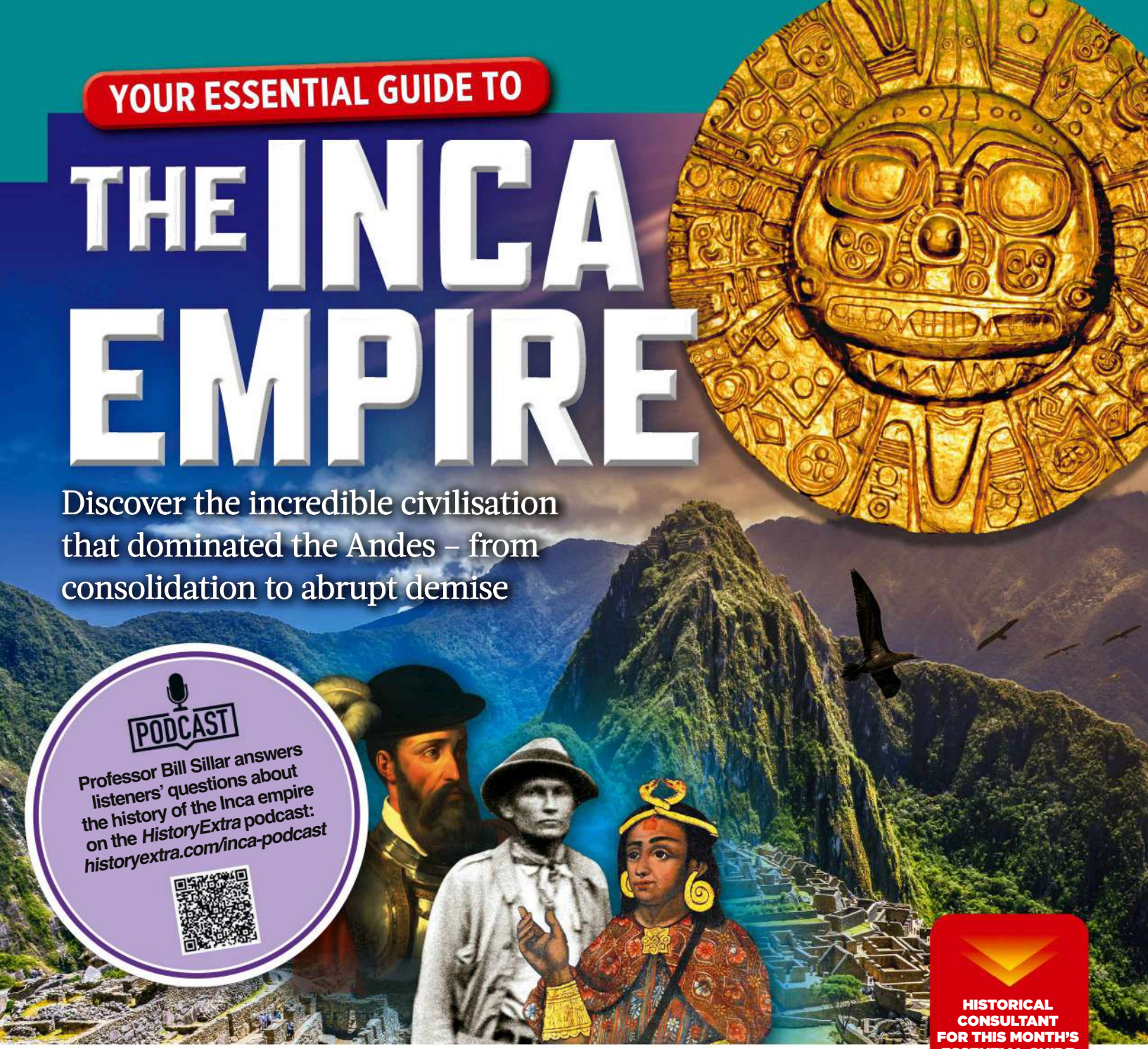

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# THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INCA EMPIRE

## c13,000 BC

Paleolithic hunter-gatherers migrate over the Bering Land Bridge from eastern Eurasia into North America. The people and their descendants move across the continent, before advancing into Central and South America, where they form new settlements.

## c2500 BC

Nomadic peoples living along the northwestern seaboard of South America begin cultivating potato, corn (maize), cotton and other crops, leading to the emergence of the first agrarian communities and sophisticated Andean cultures.

## c900–200 BC

▲ Chavín de Huántar (in modern-day Peru) becomes a major cult centre and pilgrimage site for the Andean region.

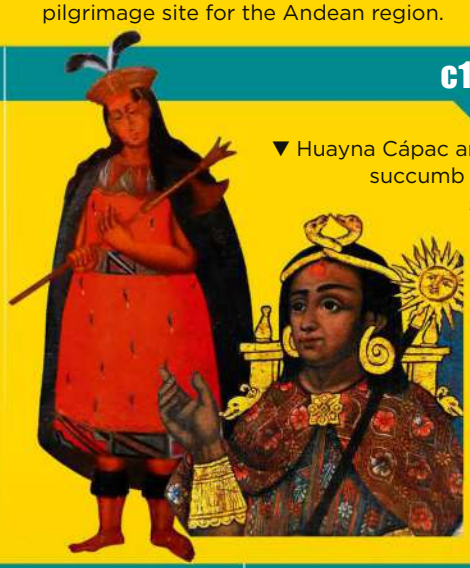
## c200–650 AD

▼ The Nazca culture flourishes along the southern coast of what is now Peru, creating huge geoglyphs known today as the Nazca Lines (*pictured*). Further north, a people known as the Moche also emerge as a distinct culture.

## c1527–1532

▼ Civil war breaks out between the brothers, and Atahualpa emerges victorious. Although weakened, the Inca empire also reaches its greatest extent around this period.

## c1527



▼ Huayna Cápac and his most likely heir succumb to fever – probably smallpox introduced by the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. It kills millions across South America and leaves two of Huayna Cápac's sons, Huáscar and Atahualpa (*pictured, left to right*), to compete for the leadership.

## 1471–1493

▲ The Inca empire doubles in size during the reign of Sapa Inca Túpac Yupanqui, Pachacuti's son.

## MID-1532

Conquistador Francisco Pizarro establishes the first Spanish settlement in what is now Peru.

## 16 NOV 1532

▼ The battle of Cajamarca ends in the capture of Atahualpa (*pictured*), who is held to ransom by Pizarro and the Spanish conquistadors.

## 26 JUL 1533

▼ The Spanish execute Atahualpa, later installing Manco Inca Yupanqui as a puppet ruler.

## 15 NOV 1533

▲ Pizarro and his men seize the city of Cuzco and plunder its gold and silver.

## 18 JAN 1535

▼ Pizarro founds the city of Ciudad de Los Reyes (present-day Lima) as the Spanish capital of the Andean region.

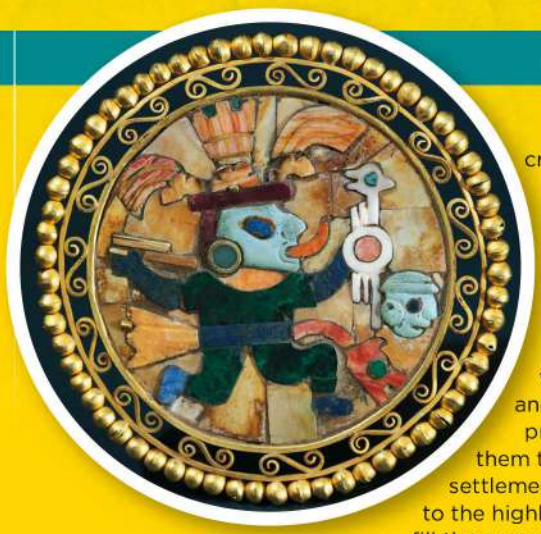
GETTY IMAGES X10, ALAMY X7

# We chart the events that shaped the civilisation – from its victories over other Andean cultures to its ultimate downfall at the hands of Spanish conquistadors

**WORDS: DANNY BIRD**

## c600–1000

The ascendant Wari state comes to preside over a vast part of the Andes – from the southern highlands to the northern coast. The artistry of the Wari people, as well as their road networks, influence other cultures in the region, leaving a lasting legacy.



## c650–800

◀ Moche craftsmanship, as demonstrated in the ornate piece shown left, reaches its zenith. Along with the Nazca, extreme weather events and environmental pressures force them to abandon their settlements and relocate to the highlands. The Wari fill the geopolitical vacuum.

## c900–1200

▼ The Chimú empire flourishes, building the largest pre-Columbian city in the Americas at Chan Chan (near modern-day Trujillo, Peru).

## c1200

According to legend, Manco Cápac, the first Sapa Inca (ruler), leads a small highland tribe into the Cuzco Valley, where they found their capital, Cuzco. This nascent Inca culture builds upon the achievements of its Andean forebears.

## c1438–1450s

◀ The Inca warrior Pachacuti defeats the neighbouring Chanka people, becoming Sapa Inca around 1438. Soon after, he starts to expand Inca rule across the Andes, with construction of Machu Picchu (*pictured*), probably a royal estate, beginning in the 1450s. Overlooking the Inca's sacred Urubumba Valley, the name of the site means 'Old Peak' in the Quechua language.

## c1470

The Inca vanquish the Chimú civilisation and kidnap the last Chimor ruler, imprisoning him at Cuzco. Much of Chimú high culture, statecraft and civic engineering is adopted by the Inca and used to consolidate their dominance.

## 1536–1537

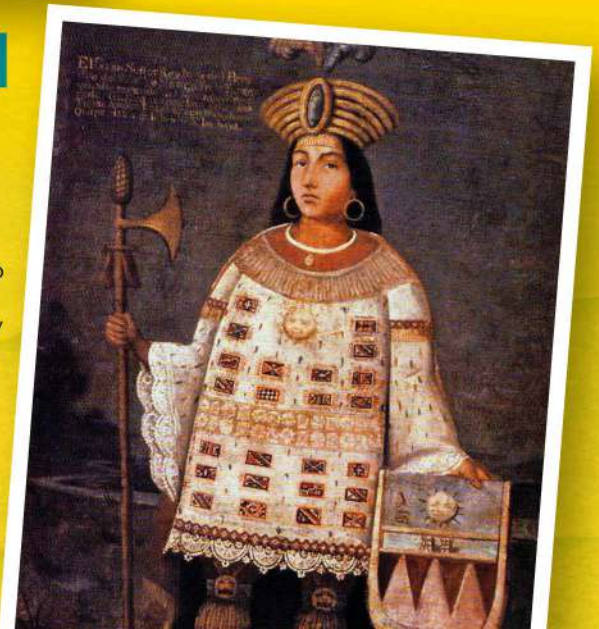
▲ Manco Inca Yupanqui (*pictured, centre*) rebels against the Spanish and besieges Cuzco. In 1537, he retreats to form the Neo-Inca State in Vilcabamba, which becomes the centre of resistance to the conquest.

## 26 JUN 1541

▼ Jealous of his power and prestige, Pizarro is killed in Ciudad de Los Reyes by fellow conquistadors.

## 24 SEP 1572

▶ The imprisoned Túpac Amaru (*pictured*), the last ruler of the Neo-Inca State, is beheaded in Cuzco by his Spanish captors, effectively bringing the Inca empire to an end. The Spanish conquest is now complete.



# EVERYTHING YOU WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE INCA EMPIRE

**Professor Bill Sillar** answers key questions about the rapid rise and fall of the South American civilisation

## Q: Who were the Inca and when did they rule?

**A:** The word 'Inca' means slightly different things to different people. In one sense, it refers to members of the original Inca tribe, which first emerged in the Andean highlands around the 13th century AD. This was led by a figure known as the Sapa Inca, or 'unique Inca', who ruled over a family of kinship groups made up of other Inca. However, the rule of the Sapa Inca grew to include other ethnic groups living around the city of Cuzco, the Inca capital, which consolidated to form the core of a vast empire covering territory in modern-day Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Argentina and Colombia. To the Inca, it was known as Tawantinsuyu, meaning the 'Realm of the Four Parts', which reflected its composition of four provinces. Overall, it was a complex, multi-ethnic entity, but each of its components could be described as 'Inca'.

Interestingly, much of the empire's expansion occurred in a short amount of time, beginning with the accession of the Sapa Inca Pachacuti around the year 1438 and ending with the Spanish conquest in 1572. Prior to this was what is known as the Late Intermediate Period, in which the Inca were a relatively minor entity, shaped by earlier empires such as the Wari empire, which had come to end around 1000 AD.

BELOW LEFT: **A statue of Manco Cápac in Cuzco, who – according to legend – founded the Inca civilisation in the early 13th century. However, he may have never really existed**

BELOW RIGHT: **A pair of archaeologists excavate a pre-Inca site in the Peruvian capital, Lima. A long line of civilisations, such as the Wari, flourished in South America before the Inca emerged**

## Q: How was the Inca empire governed?

**A:** The role of Sapa Inca was handed down from generation to generation within the Inca ethnic group, but the successor wasn't necessarily the eldest son of the previous Sapa Inca. There was competition between different sons for the position, and the strongest would usually inherit it.

The Sapa Inca wielded huge power, mostly achieved through acts of loyalty. This could involve providing gifts of cloth, inviting people to rituals to drink a type of beer known as *chicha*, and becoming involved in local activities in Cuzco. Through this, he was able to form networks of alliances that filtered downwards throughout society. However, the Sapa Inca had complete authority over his empire and was able to order killings. So, although there was this idea of reciprocity, he had overall control.

As I mentioned previously, the Inca also formed alliances with other ethnic groups living in the highland area around Cuzco. After consolidating these groups,

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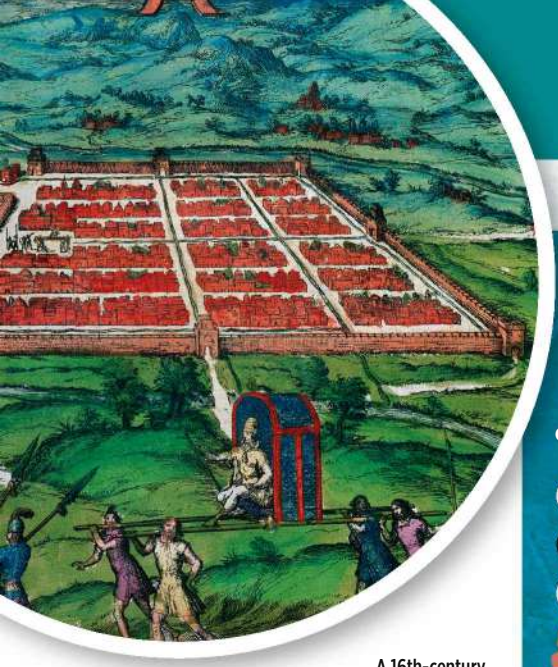


A 16th-century, European representation of Cuzco, the Inca capital

they were able to expand their territory further – sometimes by force.

The four provinces of the empire were partly delimited by these different groups, and, in many cases, they left the local ethnic leadership in place. The Inca demanded certain obligations from these leaders, including warriors for military campaigns, but also labourers to work the land and produce crops.

### Q: How did the Inca economy work?

**A:** There wasn't a commercial world resembling anything we would recognise today; there wasn't a monetary system and there weren't definite markets. Rather, the Inca practised redistribution. This was facilitated by structures known as *qullqas*, which were large storage buildings used to hold things like maize and potatoes, but also cloth, armaments and tools for agriculture. These were redistributed both to some of the leaders of the ethnic groups, but also to those working for the Inca in their fields or the military.

There was also a lot of barter and exchange going on, which was partly because the types of produce that could be grown tended to vary across different parts of the Andes – you would find very different crops being grown near the Pacific coast than 4,500 metres above sea level, for example.

The most important crop to the Inca was undoubtedly maize, which was exchanged in both its dried and cooked form, but also used to make beer. This was drunk in large quantities at festivals and used to make offerings, so maize was a hugely important crop in terms of bringing people together through reciprocity. In order to increase maize production, the Inca created large systems of terraces, with canals for irrigation.

The Inca also consumed potatoes, which had been domesticated and grown in the Andes for thousands of years. Unlike maize, potatoes didn't require the same level of investment and could be grown on steep slopes without irrigation.

**"THE EMPIRE WAS A COMPLEX, MULTI-ETHNIC ENTITY, BUT EACH OF ITS PARTS COULD BE DESCRIBED AS INCA"**

A mountainside *qullqa* at Ollantaytambo – an old Inca site in the Cuzco region. The storehouses were used to house food, textiles, tools and weapons

### Q: What made Inca culture so distinctive?

**A:** Like their forebears, the Inca produced beautiful textiles, creating an array of very fine and interesting designs. In the highlands they used llama and alpaca wool, whereas in the lowlands, they used cotton. Overall, they were less interested in representational motifs, and more focused on complex geometric patterns.

In addition to textiles, the Inca produced impressive pottery, such as jars for the brewing and serving of beer, as well as pieces of metalwork. These were created using gold and silver, but also copper alloys and bronzes.

When it came to construction, the Inca developed very close-fitting stonework, using little to no mortar – you can't even get a knife's blade between the blocks. They didn't develop iron technology, so their building work depended on 'stone age' techniques. That makes it sound ▶

Women of the Ccaccaccollo weaving community, near Cuzco. Historic Andean textile traditions have continued to the present day

The Inca produced ornate pieces of metalwork – such as these 15th-century figurines

very primitive, but it was hugely productive and elaborate.

Perhaps most famous are their polygonal blocks, where the stone almost has its original, organic shape, and the carved edges fit together perfectly. The overall effect resembles a honeycomb, and it was undoubtedly an aesthetic that had a resonance for the Inca. They treated the stone as sacred – carving it must have been hugely significant for them.

## Q: What was the Inca language?

**A:** There's still a lot of discussion and debate about this, but the Inca are particularly associated with Quechua, which is still spoken by around 10 million people today. However, Quechua was probably spread long before the Inca emerged, perhaps under the Wari.

There are also Spanish accounts of the Inca having spoken a secret language. It's not quite clear what that might have been, but one possibility is that it was Puquina, a language that was spoken in the Lake Titicaca area and may have been associated with Tiwanaku, another empire that existed at the same time as the Wari.

**"ATAHUALPA WON THE CIVIL WAR AND BECAME SAPA INCA, BUT THE EMPIRE WAS LEFT IN DISARRAY"**

Some Puquina words are included among the Inca prayers recorded by the Spanish. Whether it was part of an esoteric ritual language – like how Latin is used by the Catholic Church – or whether it was spoken more widely is not very clear. But Quechua was the main language that united the empire, and in fact, 'Inca' is derived from the Quechua word for 'lord'.

## Q: What was a typical day in the Inca empire like?

**A:** A lot of daily life was associated with agriculture and production. People spent their time undertaking tasks such as irrigating fields and planting crops, with harvests serving as points of festivity. They also pastured their animals and created clothing using llama and alpaca wool. There must have been a huge amount of work going into building their stone structures, too.

A lot of us would regard these obligations as forced labour, but this way of working is still celebrated by certain communities in the Andes today. It is often turned into a festival, with people given drink and even encouraged to sing while they're doing their duties. Having said that, it wasn't all work and no play. The Inca enjoyed dancing and competitive races, and there are also accounts

GETTY IMAGES X6

An illustration depicting an Inca potato harvest. Unlike maize, which required complex terracing and irrigation systems, potatoes were relatively simple to grow

of gambling activities, so they were definitely capable of having fun as well.

Regarding education, this mostly took place within the family, with children learning agricultural skills or pottery-making techniques at an early age. Teaching wasn't always carried out by a child's parents, though – it sometimes involved the entire community.

Notably, the Inca also had education programmes for elite families, with people brought from all over the empire to Cuzco to be trained in Inca belief systems and administration. The children of local ethnic leaders, in particular, were encultured with Inca understanding so that they could go on to run the administration in their birthplaces.

## Q: Why did the Inca empire fall so suddenly?

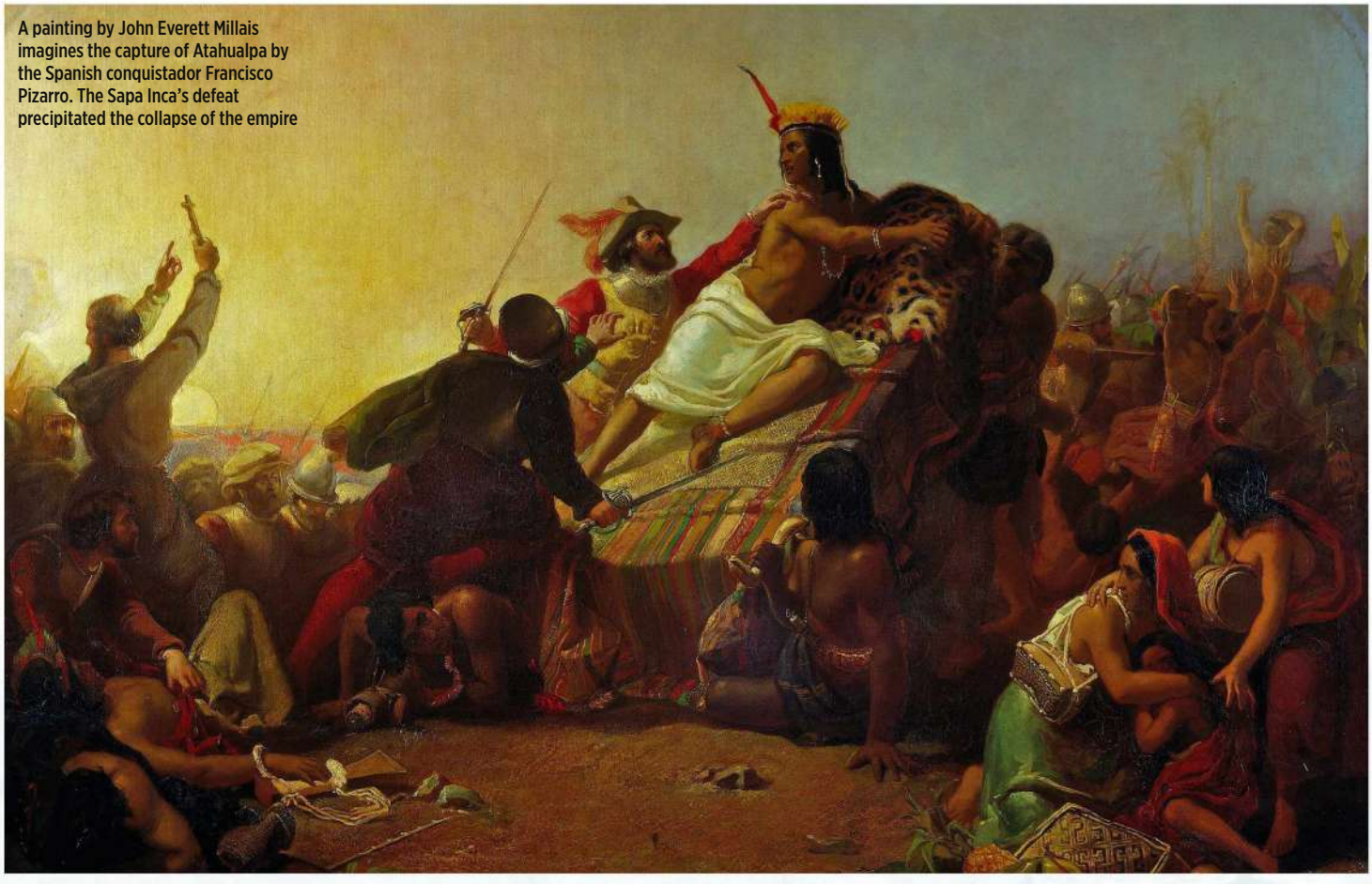
**A:** The Spanish arrived in South America just as a civil war was being fought between Atahualpa and Huáscar, two sons of the last great Sapa Inca, Huayna Cápac. Atahualpa won and became Sapa Inca, but the empire was left in disarray. The Spanish – who only numbered around 138 – then exploited that weakness, using other disaffected Andean peoples as their army.

Those who joined the Spanish probably had no idea what they were doing, but they certainly realised that the Spanish were foreign, with horses, iron and swords that were very different to those used in Inca warfare. Nevertheless, it was largely because of their efforts that the Spanish were able to secure a victory over the Inca leadership. Atahualpa was defeated at the battle of Cajamarca in 1532 and the last Inca stronghold was conquered 40 years later. Ultimately, after Atahualpa was removed, the Inca generals – who were hugely capable – were conflicted over which side to support.

At the same time, there were other factors. It is possible that Huayna Cápac died of smallpox, a European-introduced disease, and it's likely that it travelled more quickly into the heartlands of South America than the Spanish themselves. Certainly, the spread of the disease must have had a significant effect on the community, claiming lives in significant numbers.

**INTERVIEW: EMILY BRIFFETT**

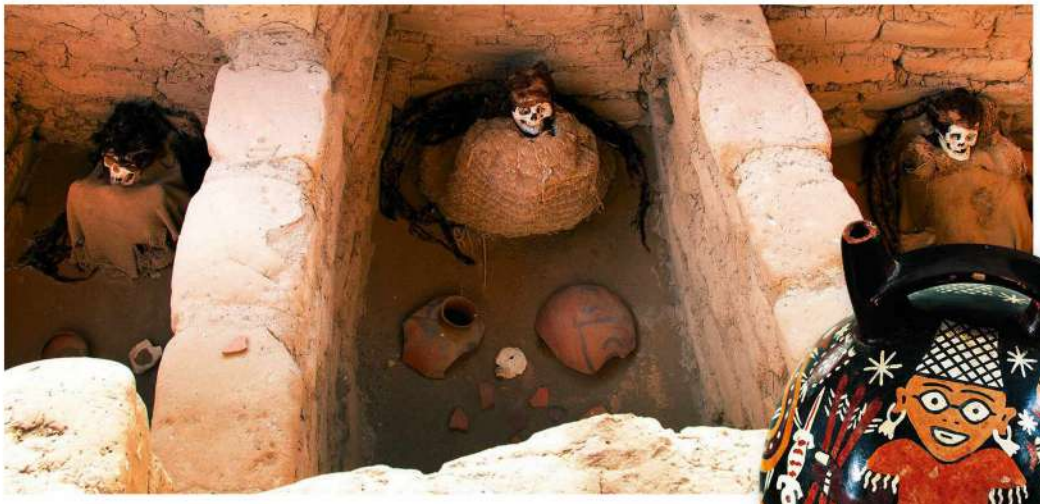
**BILL SILLAR** is professor of archaeology and technology in society at the UCL Institute of Archaeology



A painting by John Everett Millais imagines the capture of Atahualpa by the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro. The Sapa Inca's defeat precipitated the collapse of the empire

# THE EARLY PIONEER PEOPLES OF PERU

## The Inca were certainly not the only civilisation to leave a lasting impression on the Andes



ABOVE LEFT: **The Chauchilla cemetery of the Nazca, with mummified remains**

CENTRE: **A double-spouted vessel of the Nazca**

ABOVE RIGHT: **Wari walls still survive at Pikillacta in southeastern Peru**

When it comes to telling the history of pre-Columbian Peru, there has traditionally been just one empire that has dominated the headlines. That is, of course, the Inca. But that mighty imperium on South America's western seaboard would reach its zenith in the 15th and 16th centuries, which leaves around two millennia where a cluster of other civilisations burned brightly before fading away in the shadows of the Andes. In many ways, these realms were every bit as sophisticated as their more celebrated successor.

The Nazca, who thrived in southern Peru between c200 BC and AD 650, were a people of skilled craftsmen who produced elaborate textiles and ceramics. Agriculture was central to their way of life, growing crops such as maize, squash and sweet potatoes. And while the Inca are noted for practising human sacrifice, archaeological excavations suggest that the Nazca were carrying out ritualistic killings to propitiate the gods more than 1,000 years earlier. Excavated burials have revealed victims with eyes blocked and excrement placed in their mouths. It is a ghoulish image, but part of the developed Nazca belief system.

There was more to the Nazca than blood and butchery, though. They created colossal geoglyphs (*see box on opposite page*), and Nazca shaman are thought to have worked themselves up into drug-induced trances before appealing to the spirits of nature to serve up a good harvest. These entreaties appeared to have worked until the seventh century AD, for that was when the culture collapsed. We cannot be sure what caused the Nazca to disappear. Scientists have theorised that an extreme climate event, such as intense flooding, might have dealt the fatal blow.

### WONDERS OF THE WARI

As the Nazca civilisation declined, another was on the rise nearby. From around AD c600–1000, the Wari culture covered a huge swathe of land running down much of the coastal and highland regions of Peru. At the heart of Wari influence – which some historians have referred to as an empire – lay an extraordinary capital city, Huari.

Approaching 3,000 metres above sea level, this early metropolis was home to an estimated 40,000 people. Urban planning extended to the construction of a dedicated funerary section, while excavations have revealed underground galleries and astronomical tables. Like the Nazca, the Wari were proficient agriculturalists. In fact, experts believe they may have pioneered Peru's famous agricultural terraces, managing to prevent landslides and facilitate the supply of water.

The Wari reached their peak in the second half of the first millennium, as did another major pre-Columbian civilisation: the Tiwanaku. With a power base on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, at Bolivia's westernmost border, the Tiwanaku came to dominate land that

**The Tiwanaku culture built magnificent structures, including the Akapana pyramid, where this skeleton of a young man was found**

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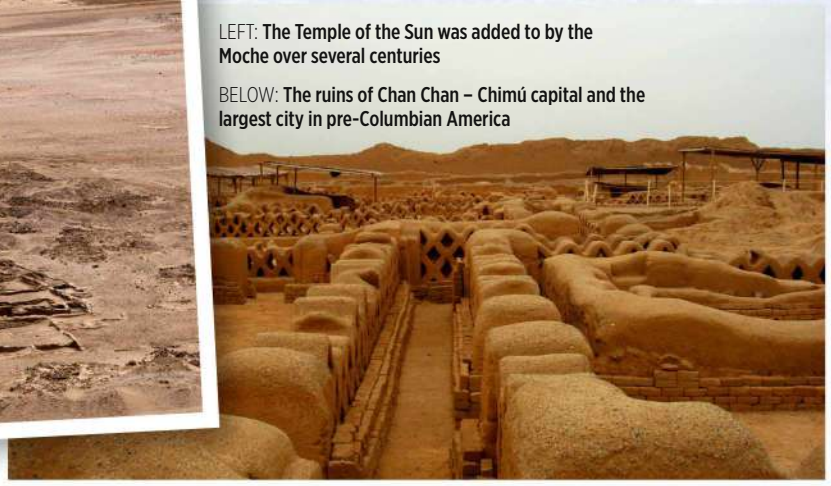


LEFT: **The Temple of the Sun was added to by the Moche over several centuries**

BELOW: **The ruins of Chan Chan – Chimú capital and the largest city in pre-Columbian America**

extended over the border into Peru and Chile. The Tiwanaku built cities, pyramids, drainage systems and farmed 50,000 agricultural fields. Yet their power was spiritual as well as physical. Archaeologists believe that the Tiwanaku capital became a religious site that drew in pilgrims from hundreds of miles away, bringing with them everything from gold medallions to ceramic incense-burners.

## SOLID FOUNDATIONS

The Moche culture, flourishing around AD 100–800, left behind some of Peru's most fascinating remains. Based in the region around the modern-day city of Trujillo in the north, they demonstrate how civilisation building was not confined to southern-central areas of the country. The culture is named for its impressive capital at the foot of the Cerro Blanco mountain, covering 300 hectares and featuring plazas, storehouses and workshops.

The centrepieces that have done most to draw archaeologists and tourists alike, however, are the two giant structures, the Temple of the Moon and the Temple of the Sun. The former is a terraced platform built against a natural hillside and capped with large rooms and courtyards. The latter was constructed in c450 AD out of around 140 million bricks, has four tiers and would have stood at more than 50 metres high.

**"IN MANY WAYS, THESE EARLIER REALMS WERE EVERY BIT AS SOPHISTICATED"**

If there was a power vacuum after the fall of the Moche, it did not last long. By around AD 900, the Chimú empire was emerging out of the rubble of the Moche. That society, the largest of the period, would feature many advances that the Inca would later build on, such as large-scale irrigation systems, social stratification, political organisation and road building. Yet the jewel in the Chimú crown was undoubtedly its capital, Chan Chan. With nearly 14 square miles of blocks and streets, temples and reservoirs – not to mention a population of thousands – it remains one of South America's great sites.

What caused the downfall of many early Andean civilisations remains shrouded in mystery. Not so the Chimú. They appear to have witnessed the rise of the Inca in the 15th century and concluded that resistance would be futile. Absorption into the new superpower of Peru could hardly have been an inviting prospect, but it was always going to be preferable to annihilation.

**WORDS: SPENCER MIZEN**

## MYSTERIES OF THE NAZCA LINES

### Long before the Inca, another Peruvian civilisation made their mark on the land

**For around 2,000 years, one of South America's greatest – and most enigmatic – artistic achievements went largely ignored, almost literally lost to the sands of time. That changed with the invention of the aeroplane. From the 1930s, people flying over the desert of southern Peru began spotting something extraordinary: giant geoglyphs etched into the Earth's surface, stretching over hundreds of square miles and depicting a spider, killer whale, birds, flora and various shapes.**

**This fired the starting gun on a mystery that continues to exercise archaeologists today. Who produced these remarkable drawings, and why? The answer to the first question points to the Nazca civilisation – hence their name: the Nazca Lines.**

**Exactly what drove these ancient peoples to carve these jumbo images into the Peruvian sand is still up for debate. Some scientists now believe the answer may lie in southern Peru's intensely arid climate. They argue that the Nazca may have produced the geoglyphs, and performed ceremonies within them, with the aim of communicating a message to the gods: let it rain.**

**Among the Nazca Lines is a 46-metre-long spider (*above*) and a hummingbird (*left*), but were they made in such a way that only the gods up above would be able to see them?**

# EVERYDAY LIFE IN AN EXTRAORDINARY EMPIRE

**Professor Bill Sillar** reveals how technology and textiles were among the many triumphs of the Inca

The Inca people hailed from a mountainous area of the central Andes. The civilisation flourished in this lofty landscape, finding ways to make the most of its resources and overcome its challenges. Maize was grown in the valley bottoms and irrigated terraces, and potatoes provided abundant crops even on steep slopes. Other crops included quinoa, beans and chillies. Domesticated llamas and alpacas, pastured on highland grasses, were important for their fleece and meat as well as their dung, which was used as a fertiliser and fuel. Guinea pigs were kept in kitchens where they ate scraps, or in larger numbers in Inca state facilities, and were cooked by roasting over fires.

Harnessing the technical innovations of earlier societies, the Inca invested in huge amounts of labour to construct terracing, canal systems and roads, and to manage vast camelid herds. And they had cracked storing food. Large quantities of crops were kept in state storage buildings, preserved by the cool Andean air and providing essential provisions for large work crews and armies. Both meat and potatoes were also preserved by 'freeze drying', exposing them to the frozen nights and then the searing sun for several days to produce *chuño* (dried potatoes) and *ch'arki* (dried meat – a possible origin of the English word, jerky).

As the empire expanded, the Inca gained access to new environments as well as even more diverse resources. Eventually, they boasted the cotton fields of the coast, the abundant fish of the Pacific Ocean, the coca of the cloud forest, and the hardwood and feathers of Amazonia. But the main resource in all these regions was human labour. People planted crops (using a foot plough), worked stone (with hammers) and transported loads when they were too heavy for llamas to carry.

BELOW LEFT: **An alpaca nuzzles at grass in the the mountaintop city of Machu Picchu**

TOP RIGHT: **A Peruvian woman leads a llama through the old Inca capital of Cuzco, c1955**

BOTTOM RIGHT: **A farmer works on potato classification during the 2022 harvest**

## ANCESTORS AND ALLIANCES

The Inca originated as a small ethnic group among others living around Cuzco, which became the illustrious capital of the Inca civilisation. Archaeological evidence suggests that while people in other regions of the Andes were building defensive hilltop forts, the groups in the Cuzco valley cooperated to build terraces and canals. Oral history provides

GETTY IMAGES X7

LEFT: **The June 2022 edition of the Inti Raymi Sun Festival in Cuzco. The annual event is a continuation of an Inca tradition marking the winter solstice and paying tribute to the Sun god, Inti**

accounts of the Inca forming alliances with neighbouring groups, but they also had a reputation as fierce warriors who were prepared to fight others. A pivotal moment in this oral history was when the Inca defeated an invading ethnic group, the Chanka. Afterwards, the Inca persuaded their allies to help construct storehouses and rebuild Cuzco.

The Inca were ruled by the Sapa Inca (emperor), who claimed to be a divine son of the Sun. According to tradition, his most able son would become ruler when he died. However, the rest of his family (*panaca*) would still own the property of the previous Sapa Inca, and the mummified bodies of ancestral Inca rulers still represented the *panacas* in major ceremonies. At Inti Raymi, a festival of the Sun, attendants would serve the mummies food and drink.

## EXPANDING THE EMPIRE

By the time of the Spanish conquest, the Inca had expanded from Cuzco to conquer a vast area stretching over 3,400 miles to the borders of modern Colombia in the north and well into Argentina and Chile in the south. This area, known as Tawantinsuyu, consisted of four *suyus* (parts or regions): Chinchaysuyu (north), Antisuyu (east), Qullasuyu (south) and Kuntisuyu (west), each of which had a governor. When the *suyus* were established they were of roughly equal size, but those to the north and south grew more with continuing conquests.

**"AS THE EMPIRE EXPANDED, THE INCA GAINED ACCESS TO NEW ENVIRONMENTS, AS WELL AS MORE DIVERSE RESOURCES"**

As the empire expanded, the Inca made each ethnic group they assimilated into an administrative unit. The leaders of these groups, known as *curacas*, became responsible for managing the supply of labour for Inca state projects, while their children were sent to Cuzco to learn about Inca administration systems, which they would implement when they returned to rule their native lands. Each ethnic group was required to maintain distinct clothing and headdresses in order that their affiliation would be recognised.

The Inca state economy was based on a system of labour tax (called the *mit'a*), and the *curacas* oversaw the obligation of each household/family to contribute workers for agriculture, construction, crafting or military service. In return, the state provided labourers with food while they were working on state projects and invited them to participate in major ▶

ABOVE: **Costumed performers at the Inti Raymi Sun Festival. The celebration attracts tourists from around the world**

ABOVE RIGHT: **A relief found at the Cerro Sechín archaeological site in northern Peru, depicting warriors and severed heads. The artwork pre-dates the emergence of the Inca**

TOP: **The vibrant colours of Peru's 2,000-year-old textile tradition can be seen at the Museo Inka in Cuzco**

ABOVE: **A miniature jar with rows of geometric motifs, c1450–1532**

LEFT: **An example of *cumbi*, the finest type of Inca fabric, woven using high-quality vicuña wool**

feasts. Some women were selected to join the *aqlla* (chosen women) who lived in all-female communities a bit like nunneries. The *aqlla* supported state administrative and religious activities by preparing food and drink, weaving, and carrying out ceremonial duties.

From as young as three, children were expected to learn gendered roles. Although men and women were considered equal, and inheritance was passed down both the mother's and father's side, they wore distinct clothing and contributed different areas of work. Women cooked, brewed beer and looked after babies, for instance. Men worked in construction and warfare. (The Inca didn't have iron or steel, but their weaponry included hardwood spears and clubs with star-shaped heads made of stone or bronze.) However, there was much crossover, with both men and women involved in weaving, agricultural work, herding and transporting goods.

## FROM TEXTILES TO LAWS

Throughout the Andes the most valued goods were textiles, recognisable for their vibrant colours and distinctive decoration. Most textiles were made from camelid fleece or cotton, but the finest were *cumbi* made from high-quality vicuña wool and produced by the *aqlla*. Fine-patterned tunics (*uncu*) were woven with designs that expressed different administrative, military and religious roles. Distinctive pottery jars and bowls were decorated in polychrome geometric patterns, and were used to serve beer at feasts and for offerings. They were produced in Cuzco and at various artisan centres all over the empire. Most communities also continued to make their local pottery and clothing after they were conquered by the Inca.

There were many languages spoken throughout the Inca empire, but Quechua was the most widespread and promoted as a lingua franca. And although there was no codified legal system, the Inca advocated three rules of good behaviour: *Ama sua* – do not steal; *Ama llulla* – do not lie; *Ama quella* – do not be lazy. While simple, they proved effective in ensuring that Inca society flourished – until, that is, the arrival of the Spanish.

**PROFESSOR BILL SILLAR** is professor of archaeology and technology in society at the UCL Institute of Archaeology

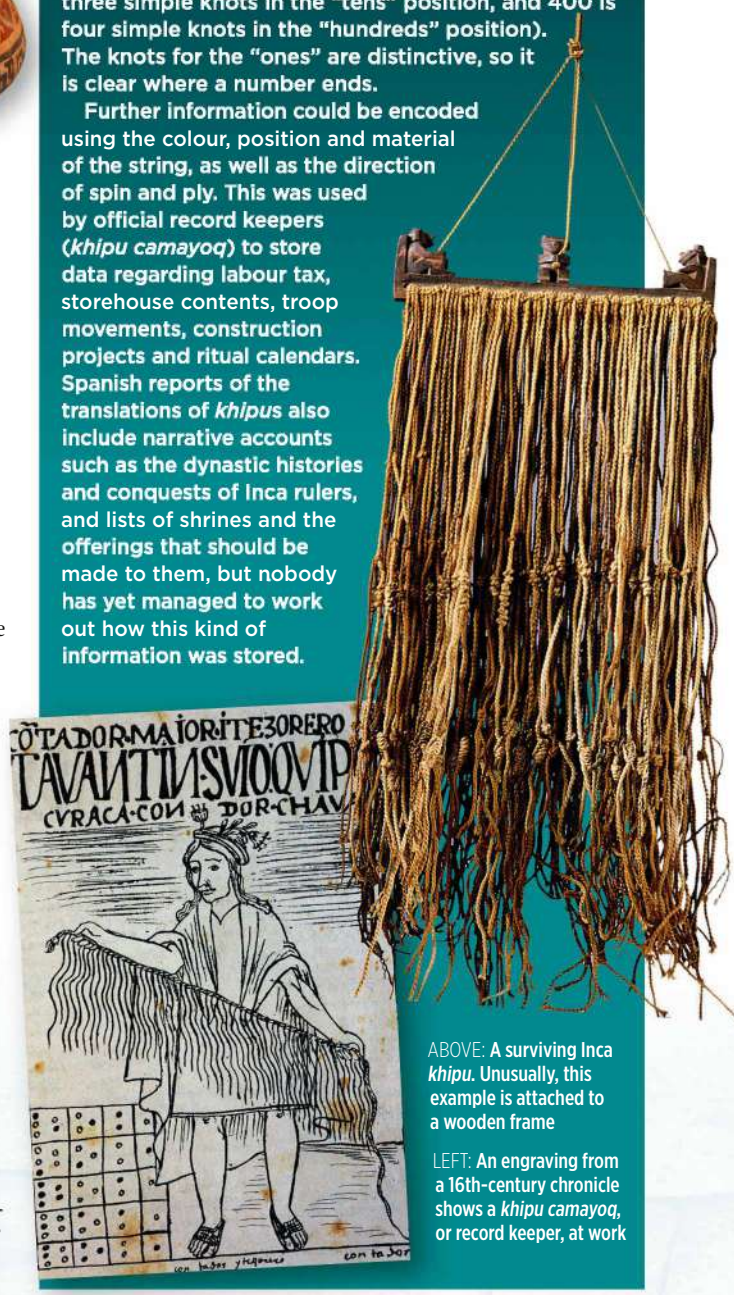
## THE POWER OF KHIPUS

### The Inca used a unique system of knotted strings to record crucial information

Rather than writing on paper or clay tablets, the Inca stored information through a sequence of knots on strings known as a *khipu*. The system of numbers used on Inca *khipu*s has been deciphered as following a base ten system (as used in the Quechua language and by us today).

Each cluster of knots on a string represents a digit, with the gap between clusters showing the move from tens to hundreds to thousands and so on. Figure-eight knots represent the number one. Long knots with one or more additional turns show one to nine. In the upper section, single knots are used to show numbers above 10 (for example, 30 is three simple knots in the "tens" position, and 400 is four simple knots in the "hundreds" position). The knots for the "ones" are distinctive, so it is clear where a number ends.

Further information could be encoded using the colour, position and material of the string, as well as the direction of spin and ply. This was used by official record keepers (*khipu camayoq*) to store data regarding labour tax, storehouse contents, troop movements, construction projects and ritual calendars. Spanish reports of the translations of *khipu*s also include narrative accounts such as the dynastic histories and conquests of Inca rulers, and lists of shrines and the offerings that should be made to them, but nobody has yet managed to work out how this kind of information was stored.



ABOVE: **A surviving Inca *khipu*. Unusually, this example is attached to a wooden frame**

LEFT: **An engraving from a 16th-century chronicle shows a *khipu camayoq*, or record keeper, at work**

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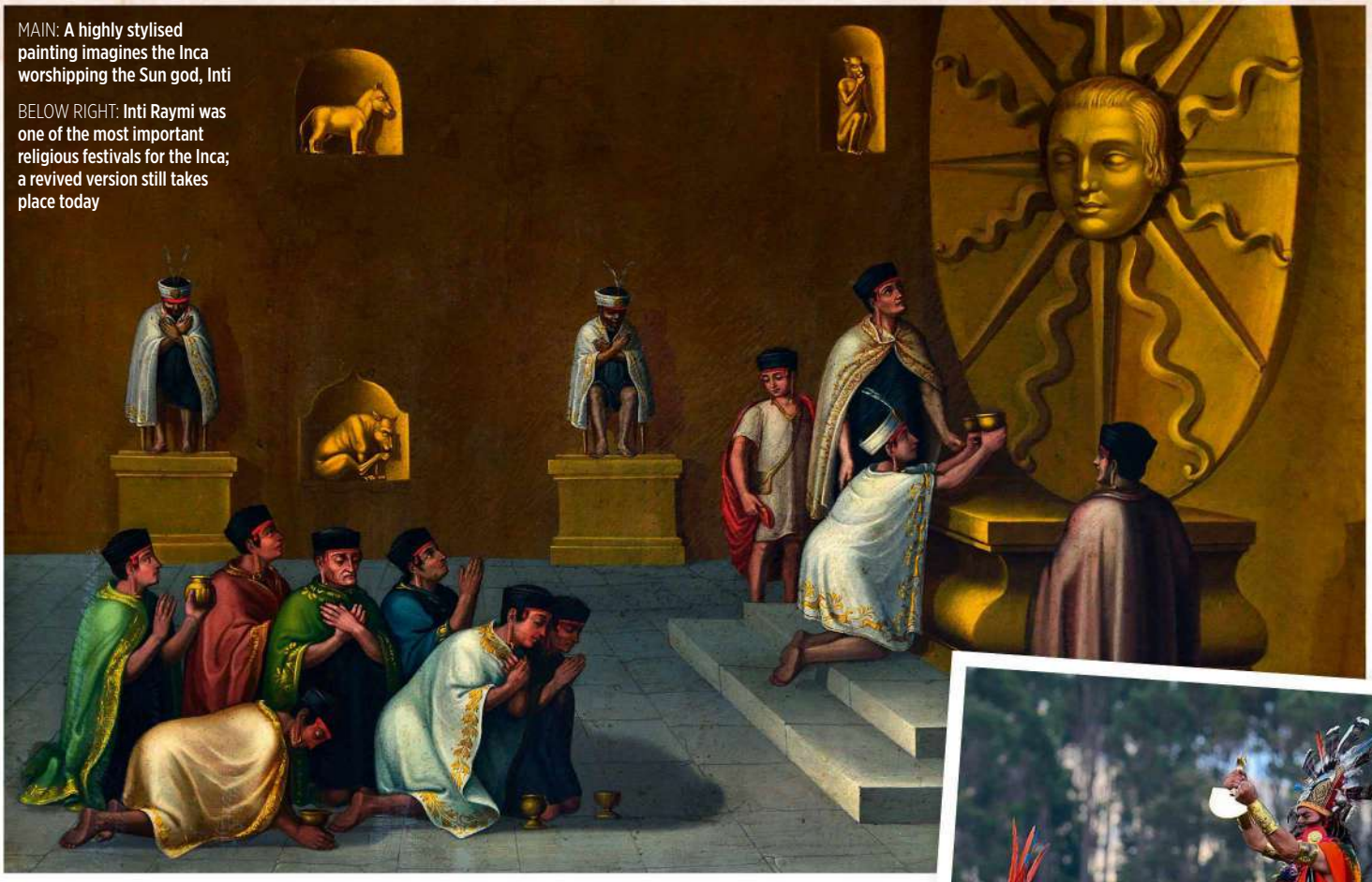


MAIN: **A highly stylised painting imagines the Inca worshipping the Sun god, Inti**

BELOW RIGHT: **Inti Raymi was one of the most important religious festivals for the Inca; a revived version still takes place today**

# SPIRITS, SACRIFICE AND THE SUN

## Inca religious beliefs centred on the nature of Earth and the universe, where past, present and future moved as one

The Inca were forever looking skywards. Indeed, cosmology was the guiding framework for the way they understood the workings of the world down on the land. Not only did the name of the empire's capital, Cuzco, mean 'navel of the earth', but the success or otherwise of Inca agriculture, and thus the empire's survival, was firmly associated with the movements of the planets.

The most fundamental recipient of Inca worship was the Sun. The most revered deity in the pantheon was Inti, the Sun god, with temples built across the empire for worshippers to gather and make offerings to him. In Cuzco, white llamas would be publicly sacrificed and gifted to Inti in order that his life-giving rays would continue to pour down on Inca soil.

But the Sun was not just regarded in meteorological ways. Gold mined from the earth was regarded as its sweat, and silver a manifestation of the tears of the Moon, emphasising the duality that frequently studded Inca thought. Accordingly, gold and silver were viewed mostly in spiritual terms. The Spanish, once they invaded, valued the precious metals solely for their monetary worth.

**Gold, the 'sweat' of the Sun, had spiritual value to the Inca**

### LIMITS OF TOLERANCE

Given that it was so vast and absorbed new lands, the Inca empire, of course, also absorbed new cultures. Temples and shrines would be built, but there was generally a tolerance of other religions within Inca society, with other gods even being incorporated. The caveat was that they could not be regarded as a higher – or even as an equal – force than the Inca deities. This was nothing new: the religion practised by various pre-Inca groups, such as the Wari and Nazca, had been drawn upon by the Inca to ▶

GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X2

**DID YOU KNOW?**

**CHOSEN TO SERVE**

The *aqlla* (chosen women) were Inca women who lived in temples and performed ritualistic duties, such as weaving fine cloth and maintaining sacred fires. Selected for the role as children, they could end up being sacrificed.

**A watercolour sketch of the 'Great Comet' (later identified as Halley's Comet) that appeared in the skies in 1532. For the Inca, it was a portent of doom – an outlook that proved correct when the Inca emperor Atahualpa was executed the following year**

fashion their own doctrine, mixing and matching ideas, myths and ceremonies into a holistic belief system.

On their arrival, the Spanish conquistadors did not share this level of tolerance for the co-existence of different religions. Following a brief period of fascination with views they had not previously encountered, the interlopers targeted Inca beliefs, regarding them as both contradictory and incompatible with Catholicism. Polygamy – common among Inca royalty – was one example of Inca practice deemed unacceptable. "The Spanish conquistadors soon recognised that the Inca worshipped the Sun," wrote Inca historian Terence N D'Altroy, "and that the rulers were thought divine. They also saw people revere idols and converse with oracles – all of this clear evidence to the Christians that the Devil had been at work."

## THE DUALITY OF TIME

Another element of duality in Inca belief was in their concept of time: they did not believe in the linear notion of time that we operate within, but believed the past, present and future ran parallel to each other, stacked in a vertical formation. These three time periods were viewed as realms, or *pachas*. What occurred in the present (the *kay pacha*) could not only be affected by the other two realms, but directly controlled by them. There was the upper realm representing the future (the *hanan pacha*) and the lower realm representing the past (the *ukhu pacha*).

As D'Altroy notes about the upper realm, the *hanan pacha*: "The skies were filled with gods, omens and archetypal animals that controlled the weather and augured the future. People created mythic cycles, measured time, planned their crops and celebrated festivals based on their knowledge and thinking about the heavens." Belief in the three realms was universally accepted; everyone in the empire always looking upwards.

The sophisticated Inca agricultural practices and regular celebrations – a religious festival was held every month – demonstrated a strong grasp of lunar cycles and solar equinoxes. But the timings of solar eclipses had not been calculated and so would arrive unexpectedly. Without the knowledge of their regularity, these were interpreted as a portent, often that the Sun had gone into mourning ahead of the imminent demise of a great leader. Comets, too, were signals of a significant event or messengers of bad tidings. If a notable death occurred shortly after a comet's appearance – such as with the execution of the emperor Atahualpa while in Spanish custody – this only further fermented the belief of the celestial controlling the earthly.

On their deaths, Inca rulers would be mummified and made publicly accessible in places of worship so that the population could consult them in times of trouble or need. The dead could respond through oracles. By still having their counsel sought after their last breaths, the mummified rulers remained active in society, even having an ongoing role in ceremonies and rituals. This was an example of the *ukhu pacha* having a direct impact on the here and now.

## SEARCHING FOR SIGNS

The primary method that the Inca population used when searching for reassurance and deeper meaning in the cosmos, however, was divination. It was used for everything from diagnosing an illness to predicting a battle. But it was not just the movements of the heavens that foretold of events; the meaning of anything could be plundered for a spiritual explanation. This might be inspecting the lungs of sacrificed animals, observing a spider as it moved, or studying the patterns left by coca leaves in a dish.

Also possessing supernatural power were the *huacas*. These could be anything – places, objects or natural features such as mountains, rivers and waterfalls – that the Inca believed were imbued with a sacred meaning or spirit, where the souls of gods and kings resided. Some *huacas* were regarded as oracles, with their answers to problems or advice being delivered via a priest, and they were also used as the sites of rituals. These mainly took the form of sacrifices, whether of

Inca rulers were mummified after death and placed in public so that the worshipping could continue

GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X5

Human bones inside a man-made *huaca*, which could take the form of any place or object

**"MUMMIFIED RULERS REMAINED ACTIVE IN SOCIETY, WITH A ROLE IN CEREMONIES AND RITUALS"**

animals or humans. Many experts on Inca history believe the mountaintop citadel of Machu Picchu to be the location of numerous *huacas*, such as the carved stone of the *Intihuatana*.

The location of the *huacas* were linked by numerous *ceques*, pathways that set the sacred sites within a sophisticated network. The most famous of these took the capital of Cuzco as its central point, its gravitational anchor, its axis. The *huacas* were therefore important in providing specific locations to recall memories, make offerings and claim ownership of resources. But this fact was swiftly recognised by the Spanish, who set about dismantling the *huacas*, or, at least, the ones that could be physically destroyed. While mountains could not be moved, buildings could be demolished.

By removing the *huacas* from Inca life, the Spanish were weakening a crucial element of the empire's self-identity. However, in spite of these attempts to extirpate idolatry, many people in the Andes continue to show their respect for the land through making offerings, such as libations of beer and coca leaves. It seems not every facet of the Inca belief system has been eradicated.

**WORDS: NIGE TASSELL**

Inca offerings could be animals, humans or even food and drink – anything to make the Sun rise

## THAT'LL BE THE DEITY

Sitting at the top of the pantheon, these gods were vital to Inca existence

### VIRACOCHA

▶ Also known as Wiracocha or Con-Tici, Viracocha was worshipped as the god of creation; the universe, time and civilisation were the product of his hand. The story goes that Viracocha rose from Lake Titicaca before the planet had light and illuminated life on Earth through his creation of the Sun, the Moon and the stars. He pre-dated the dawn of the Incas, having been worshipped across the Andes before the empire was formed. Nevertheless, he was incoporated into the Inca belief system.

### INTI

▶ As the Sun god, Inti was the most celebrated deity of the Inca empire. Inca rulers were believed to be his descendants; indeed, one legend suggests that the first emperor, Manco Cápac, was his son. With such direct links, the human rulers were endowed with a perceived divine right to rule. When a new territory was added to the empire, it was required to offer up a third of its livestock and crops to Inti.

### MAMA QUILLA

In Inca mythology, Mama Quilla was the daughter of Viracocha and both sister and wife of Inti. A crucial deity in the calendar, she was the goddess of the Moon (her names translates as 'Mother Moon'), depicted as a disc of silver, which was believed to be her tears. So revered was Mama Quilla that unexpected lunar eclipses caused her worshippers to believe she was under attack from a beast, and that had such an assault been successful, their world would have been plunged into eternal darkness.

### APU ILLAPU

Another deity vital to the continuing survival of the Inca, Apu Illapu was the god of thunder and rain, and as such was the controller of the weather. With much of the empire located at agriculture-unfriendly high altitude, the levels of rainfall he saw fit to drop on the land was crucial, hence the Inca's devotion to showering him with praise, adulation and gifts. At times of crisis, many sacrifices would be made.

# MACHU PICCHU

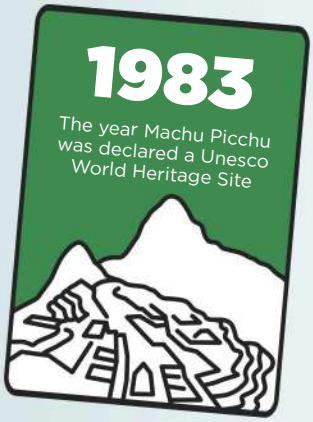
Built in the mid-15th century, probably as a royal estate, the mountaintop citadel of Machu Picchu remains Peru's most popular tourist destination. Discover its history with our handy graphic...

## IN NUMBERS

Six fascinating stats about the world-famous Inca city

**300–1,000**

The city's estimated population in the 1450s, the decade it is believed to have been built



**50**

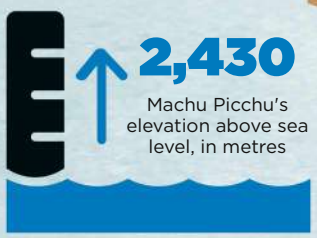
The weight, in tonnes, of many of the stones used to build the city

**135**

The number of human remains found at the site

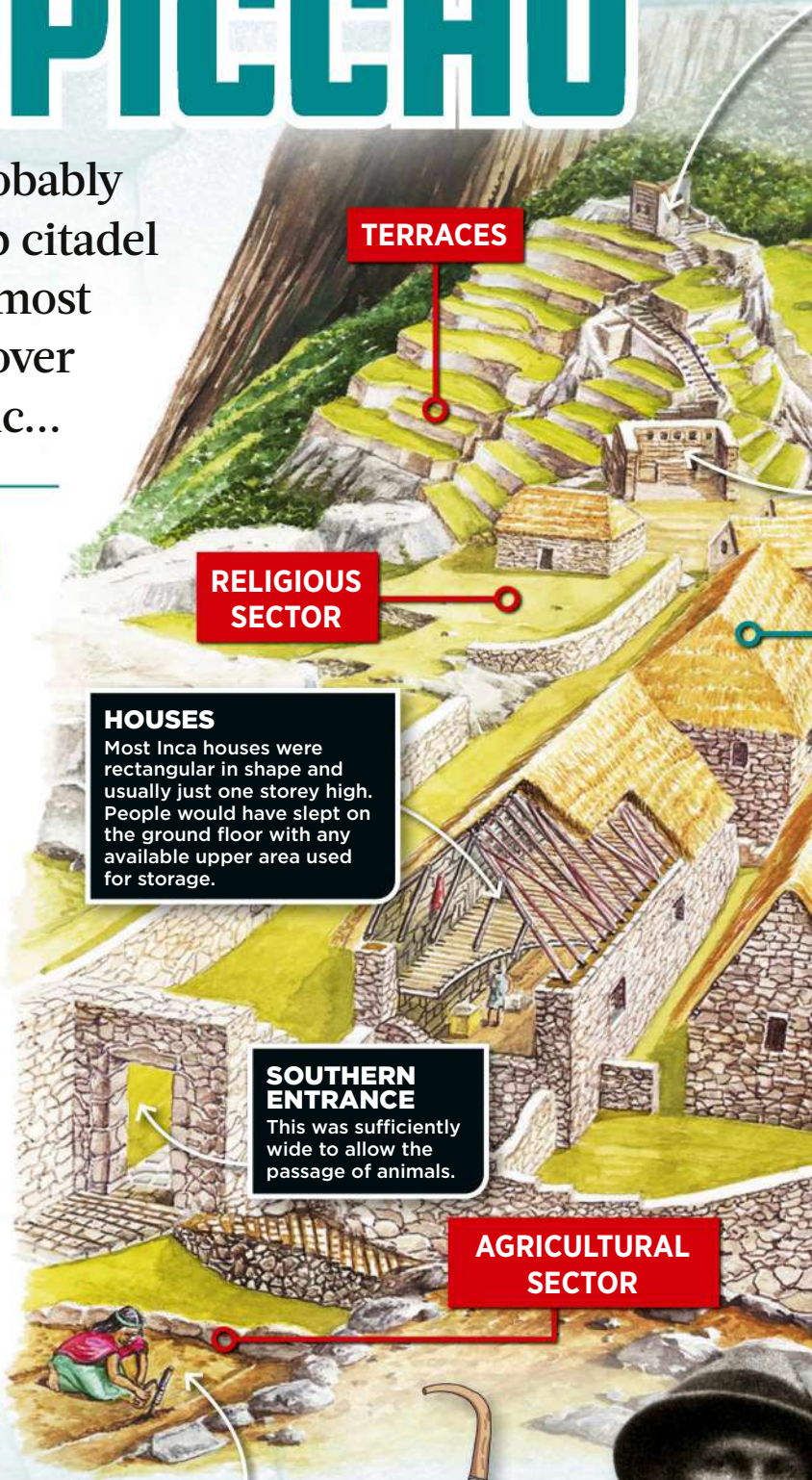
**>600**

The number of terraces at Machu Picchu. These were used to prevent landslides and cultivate crops



**2,430**

Machu Picchu's elevation above sea level, in metres


TERRACES
RELIGIOUS SECTOR
HOUSES
Most Inca houses were rectangular in shape and usually just one storey high. People would have slept on the ground floor with any available upper area used for storage.
SOUTHERN ENTRANCE
This was sufficiently wide to allow the passage of animals.
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

## TOOLS

To work the land, the Inca used *chaquitaclla* or foot ploughs, which had a point made from tropical hard woods or chipped stone, a curved handle and footrest.

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### INTIHUATANA
Carved from a huge slab of rock, the *Intihuatana* (meaning 'place where the Sun gets tied') stands at Machu Picchu's highest elevation point. Its main purpose was astronomical: on the two equinoxes (21 March and 21 September) the Sun is directly above the stone and casts no shadow.

### DID YOU KNOW?
**ON THE MOVE**
Archaeological evidence suggests that many of the people who lived at Machu Picchu hailed from different parts of the Inca empire, including from the Lake Titicaca area, some 282 miles away.

## AGRICULTURE
Large step platforms known as terraces comprised layers of material such as mulch, sand and gravel that facilitated drainage and prevented flooding and landslides – but they were also used to cultivate crops such as potatoes and corn.

### SACRED PLAZA
The plaza is home to three key buildings: the Main Temple, the Temple of the Three Windows and the Priests House.

POPULAR DISTRICT

NOBLE DISTRICT

CEREMONIAL SQUARE

TEMPLE OF THE CONDOR

TEMPLE OF THE SUN

STOREHOUSE

### STONEWORK
Stone buildings were created without mortar using a technique called *ashlar*, which saw blocks of granite cut to fit tightly together.

### WATER SYSTEM
Natural springs on the north slope of the mountain serve as a water source for the city. Water is carried by canal to the city centre where it then flows through a system of 16 fountains.

## REDISCOVERY
On 24 July 1911, Yale University history lecturer Hiram Bingham first set eyes on Machu Picchu. He mistakenly believed the site to be that of Vilcabamba, the so-called "lost city of the Incas".

# THE SITES THAT MADE THE EMPIRE

**Professor Bill Sillar** explores the major cities and constructions that helped the Inca to thrive

**DID YOU KNOW?**

**A MAKER'S DOZEN**

The walls of Cuzco were made so precisely, without mortar, that it is not possible to fit even a piece of paper between the blocks. The finest example of this craftsmanship is the Twelve-Angled Stone, which forms part of a wall to this day.

## CUZCO

Cuzco was the homeland, capital and religious centre of the Inca empire. Pedro Sancho, one of the first Spaniards to enter the city, described it as "where the lords of this land have their residence; it is so large and so beautiful that it would be worthy of admiration even in Spain; and it is full of the palaces of the lords, because no poor people live there."

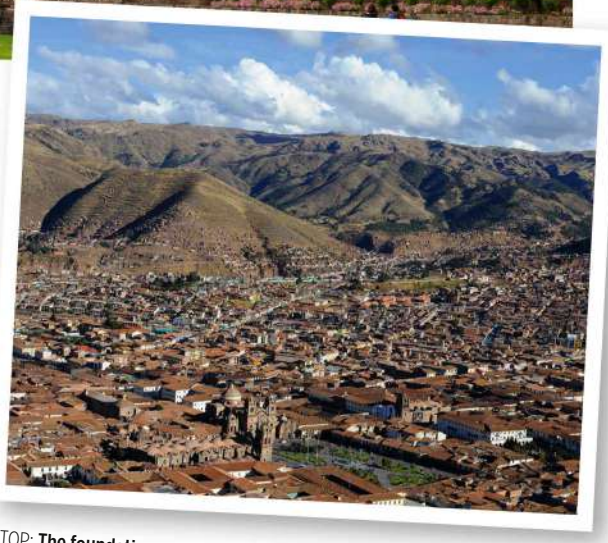
In order to construct the city, the Inca had to drain a swampy area, convert two rivers into canals, and terrace the steep slopes of the valley to provide platforms for buildings. Between the waterways, the narrow streets formed roughly quadrangular blocks with walled enclosures for elite housing.

At its heart was a main plaza with the Saphy River running between it, which was considered to be the meeting point of the four great roads and four quarters of the empire. Most buildings were made using rectangular andesite blocks prepared at quarries around 20 miles away. The terraces were constructed from limestone blocks, each one carved in individual polygonal shapes so that they fitted precisely with neighbouring stones. The roofs were thickly thatched.

The city had been conceived to resemble the shape of a puma: the Sacsayhuamán (*see page 45*) was the head; the plaza the belly; the rivers formed the outline of the body; and where they met was the tail. At the point where they converged, the Inca constructed Coricancha, the 'Golden Enclosure', a temple dedicated to the Sun, Moon and other deities, as well as the Inca ancestors. This was a resting place for the royal mummies, which would be brought out into the plaza for major ceremonies.

The Spanish did not record any markets or industrial production, as Cuzco was a religious and administrative centre. Festivities were facilitated by the *Aqllawasi* (house of the chosen women), which provided food, drink, cloth and performances. For agricultural produce, the city relied on a hinterland of estates, such as Machu Picchu and Ollantaytambo, and outlying villages for artisans and workers.

During the rebellion of Manco Inca Yupanqui (1536–37), many buildings were burned in a long siege, and the Spanish destroyed more as they widened the narrow streets for their Spanish-style housing and baroque cathedrals and churches, made from re-used Inca stone. But Cuzco remained a vibrant settlement and today it is the longest continually occupied city in South America, with a population of more than 400,000.



TOP: **The foundations of Coricancha, the Golden Enclosure, were used to build this Spanish church**

ABOVE: **An aerial view of Cuzco. According to Peru's 2017 census, it is home to more than 400,000 people**

BELOW: **The walls of the Inca ceremonial centre and fort Sacsayhuamán, on the outskirts of the city**

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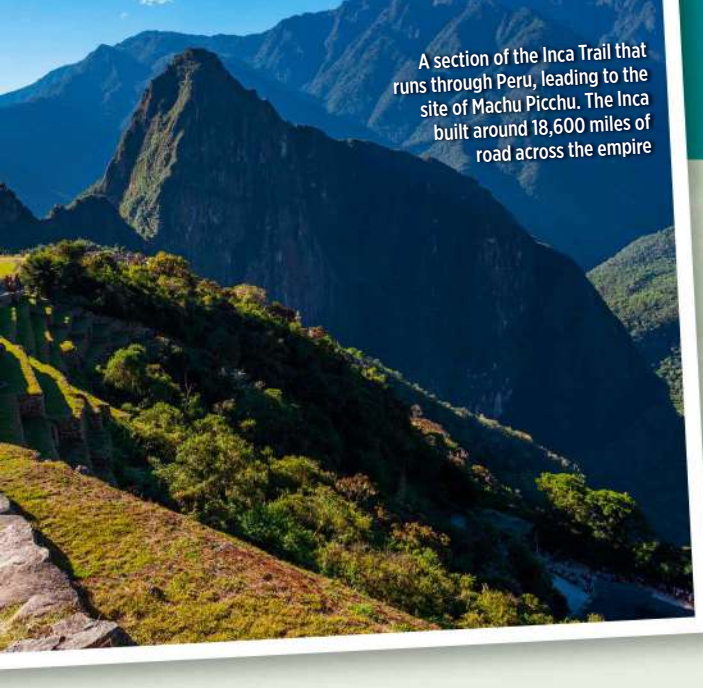


A section of the Inca Trail that runs through Peru, leading to the site of Machu Picchu. The Inca built around 18,600 miles of road across the empire

# INCA ROADS

The thousands of miles of the Qhapaq Ñan (royal road) facilitated the movement of people, goods and information across the empire. Two main north–south roads ran along the mountains and coast, with connecting branches into the Amazon jungle and to major locations. The principal road that went from Quito (Ecuador) through Cuzco – splitting into two branches around Lake Titicaca – and then on to Mendoza (Argentina) stretched nearly 3,500 miles. Estimates for the total road system are around 18,600 miles (30,000km).

Although straight roads were preferred, the Inca responded to the landscape by skirting round lakes or rock outcrops and making use of mountain passes. The width and quality of the road varied greatly, from thin paths along precipitous cliff sides, to highway-like sections some 16 metres wide.

The labour for construction and maintenance of the roads was obtained through the *mit'a* labour tax, with ethnic groups usually responsible for the paved sections, retaining walls, water drainage and causeways within their territory. Smaller streams were crossed with stone slabs or logs, but major engineering feats were the rope suspension bridges that traversed large rivers. Wild grasses were braided into thick ropes that were remarkably strong, although they had to be replaced regularly (approximately every two years).

At intervals of around one day's walk, there were lodges, or *tambos*, with corrals for llamas. A relay system of messengers, *chasqui*, would run at great speed between them to carry oral reports and *quipus* (a form of record using knotted cords). As each *chasqui* approached, he sounded his conch shell trumpet to alert the next runner.

The Spanish marvelled at the Qhapaq Ñan, but did not like the narrow paths and wobbly bridges. Also, the road surfaces were not designed for traction animals or wheeled carts, unlike llamas with their soft hooves. The system rapidly changed in the colonial period, and much has since been converted to modern roads and railways.

LEFT: **Conch shells were used by the *chasqui* as trumpets**

FAR LEFT: **A *chasqui* featured on a Spanish postage stamp**

# SACSAYHUAMÁN

A modern version of the Inti Raymi festival still takes place at the site

Constructed on the hill overlooking Cuzco, Sacsayhuamán forms part of the capital. While the Spanish referred to the site as a fort, it also functioned as a ritual and ceremonial centre. A large plaza capable of holding thousands of people was designed for communal activities; next to this, three long zig-zagging terrace walls were constructed from massive limestone boulders, all of them precisely carved and fitted. And above the terrace were many buildings, such as three tall towers.

Around Sacsayhuamán, a diverse complex of structures were built, which included a large circular pond with finely carved niches that acted both as a reservoir and a water cult centre. There are numerous areas of intricately carved limestone boulders with caves and tunnels, from which early Spanish accounts describe the looting of mummies and offerings.

In 1536, this area became the focus of Manco Inca Yupanqui's final battle, during his 10-month siege of the Spanish in Cuzco. Following their ultimate victory, the Spanish designated a coat of arms for Cuzco depicting a golden tower on a field of red and surrounded by eight condors – in memory of how the birds came down and feasted after 1,500 Inca warriors had been put to the sword. Yet because the Spanish preferred the warmer Cuzco Valley, Sacsayhuamán had few colonial structures built on top of it. The site did, however, become a convenient source of stone that could be re-used in Cuzco, so only the foundations and largest stones survive today.

# OLLANTAYTAMBO

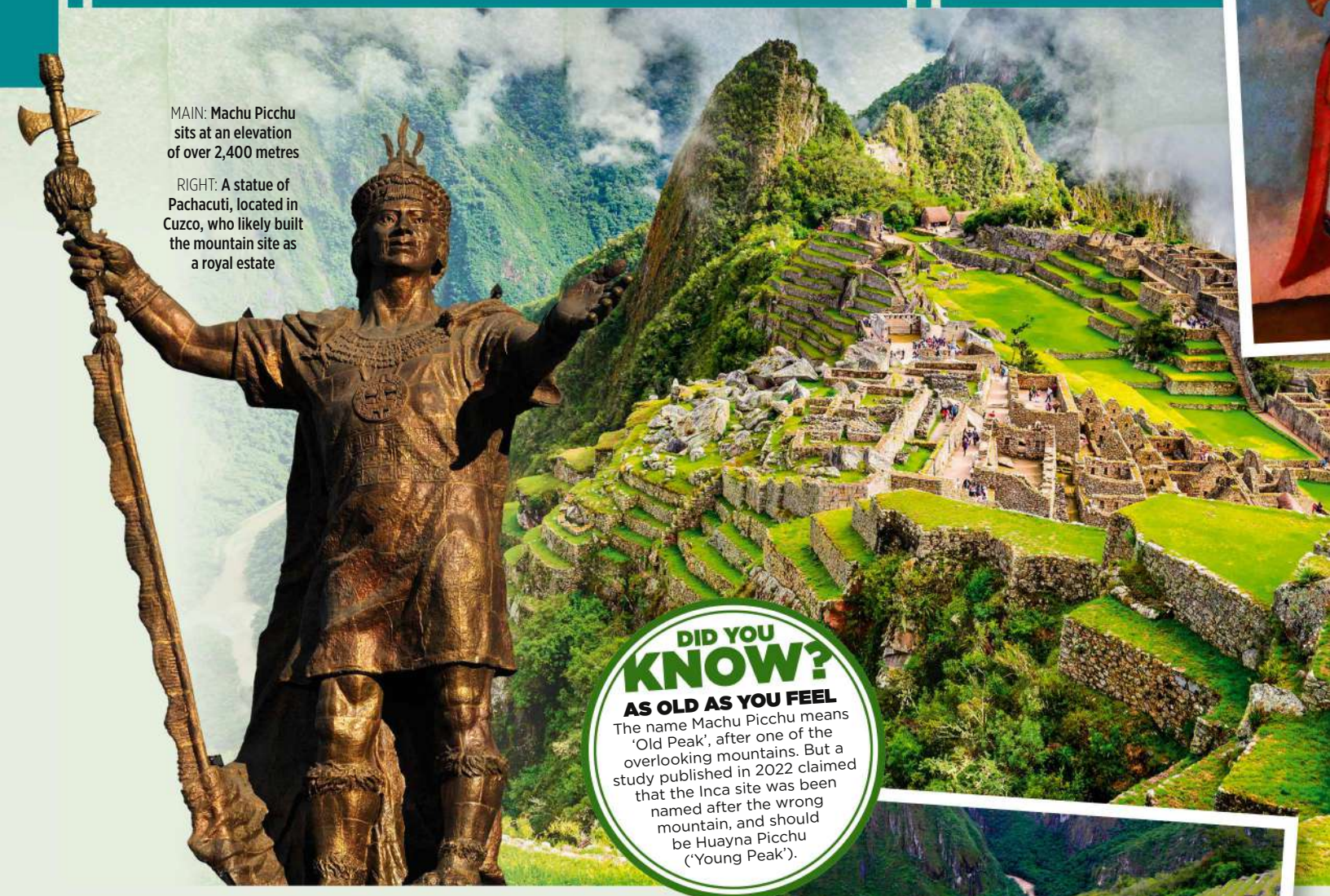
Ollantaytambo controlled access up and down the Urubamba and Patacancha valleys, with relatively close access to Amazonian jungle resources, so its strategic location and the produce from large areas of irrigated terracing made the site a key resource for the Inca. Multiple periods of construction, remodelling and incomplete projects make it one of the most enigmatic and interesting of archaeological sites.

At the bottom of the valley, a sector of Inca residential buildings continues to be occupied today, with four longitudinal streets that still have canals flowing down them. On the other side of the river, there was a huge plaza surrounded by large halls and several elaborate fountains, including the Baño de la Ñusta (bath of the princess). Encasing a rock outcrop at the top of a steep terraced slope is a wall of six monoliths, all made from re-used blocks with vestiges of a stepped design carved on them. The south-facing monoliths lit by the Sun are visible from the lower plaza. Today, this area is referred to as the Temple of the Sun, but its original purpose remains unknown.

After the Spanish conquest, Manco Inca Yupanqui used Ollantaytambo as his base for eight months and was able to inflict a major defeat in 1537. His archers rained down arrows and hurled large building stones onto the Spanish troops, as well as diverting the river to flood the valley floor and immobilise the enemy's horses.

RIGHT: **Manco Inca Yupanqui was victorious at Ollantaytambo**

BELOW: **Ollantaytambo is referred to as the 'living Inca city'**



MAIN: **Machu Picchu sits at an elevation of over 2,400 metres**

RIGHT: **A statue of Pachacuti, located in Cuzco, who likely built the mountain site as a royal estate**

**DID YOU KNOW?**

**AS OLD AS YOU FEEL**

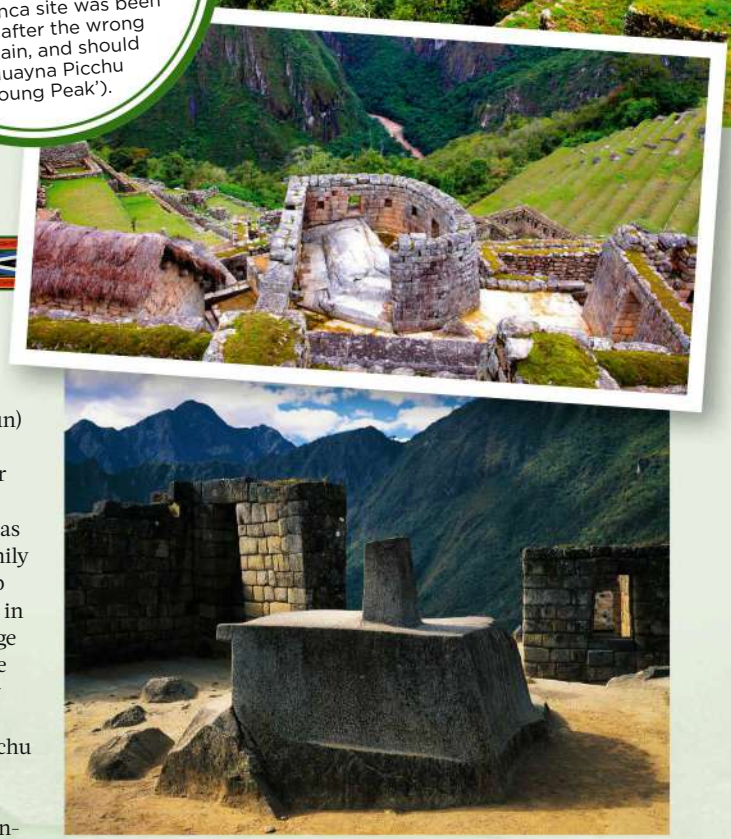
The name Machu Picchu means 'Old Peak', after one of the overlooking mountains. But a study published in 2022 claimed that the Inca site was been named after the wrong mountain, and should be Huayna Picchu ('Young Peak').

# MACHU PICCHU

In 1911, the American archaeologist Hiram Bingham brought Machu Picchu to the attention of the world when he removed centuries of vegetation to reveal the stunning mountainous Inca site, which had been left unaffected by colonial modifications. Located on a ridge overlooking the Urubamba River, its granite buildings were designed with openings and vistas that frame the views of both the landscape and astronomical features. The stones had been sculpted to echo the outlines of the mountains.

Some of the finest stonework at Machu Picchu is the *Torreón*, the huge tower with a circular wall built around a rock outcrop, which may have been used for solar observations; a cavernous chamber underneath probably held Inca mummies. Above this is the Temple of the Three Windows, a hall around 10 metres long, with three large windows on one wall (the largest of any in Inca architecture). Steps lead further up to a single upright pillar and pedestal, referred to as the *Intihuatana* (tying place for the Sun) – a ritual sundial carved out of the bedrock that would have been used for solar observations.

Machu Picchu was most likely built as a royal estate for Pachacuti and his family in the 15th century. Although the steep terraces may not have produced much in the way of crops, this was part of a large group of interconnected sites that were highly productive agriculturally – now visited as the 'Inca Trail'. Analysis of burials in the caves around Machu Picchu suggests a multi-ethnic population of workers as there is evidence of metalworking from artisans making tin-bronze artefacts. In 1983, Machu Picchu was declared a Unesco World Heritage site, and nominated one of the New Seven Wonders of the World in 2007.



TOP: **The *Torreón*, or Temple of the Sun, may have been an observatory**

ABOVE: **Near the main plaza of Machu Picchu is the *Intihuatana*, which was most likely used for astronomical purposes – possibly as a sundial**

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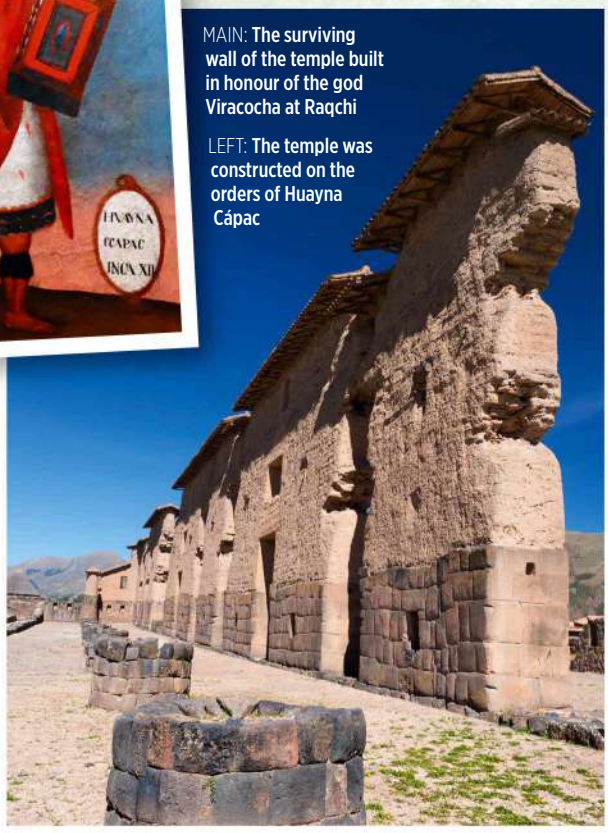


MAIN: **The surviving wall of the temple built in honour of the god Viracocha at Raqchi**

LEFT: **The temple was constructed on the orders of Huayna Cápac**

# RAQCHI

Raqchi was the site of a temple dedicated to the Inca creator god, Viracocha. An origin myth explained that the deity awoke different peoples from the ground, but at Raqchi the group he awoke, the Canas, emerged with their weapons and went to attack him. In response, Viracocha caused "fire to fall from heaven", causing the Canas to throw down their weapons and prostrate themselves until the god stopped the volcano.

In gratitude, the Canas built a shrine and carved a great stone statue of Viracocha. The Spanish authors described it as a tall man with a crown or tiara on his head, arms crossed and a belt around his middle. Although this statue no longer survives, the descriptions suggest a sculpture from the time of the Tiwanaku or Wari, some 400 years or more before the Inca.

When Huayna Cápac (Sapa Inca in the late 15th and early 16th centuries) visited Raqchi, he ordered the erection of a temple. The Spaniard Garcilaso de la Vega would describe how people performed a ritual dance in this temple, a site that consisted of a zigzag path to the end of the building where the ancient Viracocha statue had been relocated. The temple became a focus of early desecration as the Spanish searched for gold, but later it became a rallying point for an 18th-century uprising when an indigenous leader, who took the name Túpac Amaru II, rallied his troops at Raqchi under the shadow of the volcano and crumbling sanctuary and called on the support of the Inca gods.

# HUÁNUCO PAMPA

Built on a high plateau, Huánuco Pampa was a large administrative centre, where five or more ethnic groups met with the Inca to participate in rituals and to agree their labour contributions (*mit'a*). Workers also contributed to putting supplies into storehouses. The core of the site is an immense rectangular plaza – 550 metres by 350 metres – with a platform at the centre that was used by religious leaders and officials performing ceremonies and addressing large gatherings.

Around the plaza, several large halls served as barracks and covered areas during ceremonies. To the east, there is a large enclosure with fine masonry that provided a palace at times when the Sapa Inca, state officials and ethnic leaders were in residence. This is entered through a doorway with pumas (symbol of the Inca royal lineage) on either side. Inside is a series of nested courtyards surrounded by smaller halls, houses and ritual baths.

Much of Huánuco Pampa's housing was intended for temporary use, but one important group of permanent residents were the *aqlla*, or chosen women, housed in a large enclosure where excavations have since provided evidence of intensive weaving and production of food and beer for festivals. There were also nearly 500 storehouses (*qullqas*) of various designs constructed on the hillside, where the cold dry breeze helped preserve crops, such as potatoes, maize and quinoa, as well as pottery, textiles and military equipment.

One of the doors at the massive site, which had nearly 500 storehouses

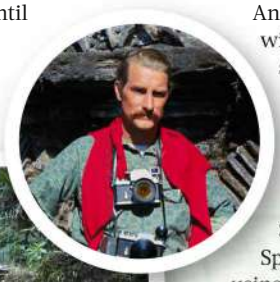
# VILCABAMBA

In 1537, with the Spanish in Cuzco, Manco Inca Yupanqui established a new capital in Vilcabamba, where he set up a 'Neo-Inca State' that survived for 35 years. The jungle environment made it difficult for the Spanish and their horses, which allowed the Inca to elude capture and employ guerrilla tactics.

Vilcabamba became a thriving community and grew lowland crops, such as coca, cotton and sugar cane. When Yupanqui was killed in 1544 by renegade Spaniards, the Neo-Inca state was maintained until his son Túpac Amaru was captured and executed in 1572. During the final Spanish victory, Yupanqui's mummy, as well as the golden sun disc originally from Cuzco, were also seized.

Vilcabamba's location was lost until Hiram Bingham visited the site in 1911 – although, he did not know what it was, so it would be 1964 before American Gene Savoy identified it as Vilcabamba. The extensive site has a large plaza surrounded by halls, buildings and platforms with high-quality Inca pottery, suggesting it functioned as a ceremonial centre for drinking and feasting.

An unusual rectangular building with a curved end may have been an early church, as some Inca adopted aspects of Christianity. Off-centre doorways, nails from wooden doors, interior dividing walls, stone 'tables' and ceramic roof tiles show Spanish influence, just as the Spanish were building in Cuzco using Inca-style masonry.



RIGHT: **The Vilcabamba ruins were lost until their rediscovery by Hiram Bingham in 1911**

INSET: **American explorer Gene Savoy was the first person to identify the site as having been Vilcabamba**

**BILL SILLAR** is professor of archaeology and technology in society at the UCL Institute of Archaeology

MAIN: **An illustration depicts the 1532 capture of Atahualpa. His soldiers were easily defeated by Spanish firepower**

ABOVE RIGHT: **A portrait of Atahualpa's father, Huayna Cápac, whose death from smallpox gave rise to a brutal civil war**

# CONQUEST AND CONVERSION

## A bloody civil war, deadly new diseases and cunning Spanish tactics resulted in the end of the once-mighty Inca empire

When, in the spring of 1526, Francisco Pizarro's boot first made contact with Inca soil, he could have had no idea about the vastness of the empire he had just landed on, nor the lead part he would play in its downfall.

The Spanish conquistador and his small brigade of men had landed at the Peruvian port of Tumbes, but there was no suggestion that he had the numbers to instigate an invasion, let alone a conquest. Instead, it was a brief fact-finding mission, sending a pair of his sailors to recce the town. They returned with good news, painting a picture of an affluent community where the chief's house was decorated with plentiful gold and silver. Pizarro knew at that moment he would return. And, on that next visit, he would be fully prepared.

At the time of Pizarro's research trip, the Inca empire was stable and secure under the rule of Huayna Cápac. By the time the Spaniard returned around six years later, the empire was fundamentally split – and indirectly so because of the Spanish. Those Europeans who had ventured into Inca lands had brought more than curiosity; they had imported smallpox, which found its way to the highest strata of Inca society. Despite never having met a single Spaniard, Huayna Cápac died from the disease around 1527.

### FRATERNAL STRUGGLES

Huayna Cápac's demise created a leadership crisis. By this point, the empire had expanded to such an extent that its rule by just one man – certainly by someone without the widespread devotion of the Inca people that Huayna Cápac had earned – was nigh-on impossible. After his preferred successor Ninan Cuyoche also died from the disease, two other sons – Huáscar and Atahualpa – jointly succeeded him. Each presided over a separate territory, which, considering the difficulties between the half-brothers, effectively meant the formidable Inca empire had been split in two.

Huáscar and Atahualpa embarked on a bitter and bloody civil war to gain complete control of the empire, with invasions and counter-invasions breaking out across

**Atahualpa's half-brother, Huáscar, was made ruler of Cuzco following their father's death – an arrangement that did not last long**

GETTY IMAGES X4, ALAMY X3

TOP: **Atahualpa had been unfazed by the arrival of Pizarro and his men – a mistake that would later prove fatal**

BOTTOM: **The 'Ransom Room' in Cajamarca, in which Atahualpa was held prisoner. The Sapa Inca offered to fill the room with treasures in exchange for his freedom**

the empire. Cuzco was in the hands of Huáscar but Atahualpa's soldiers were the more hardened and experienced, qualities that eventually meant the capital fell to the younger son in 1532 after several years of conflict and slaughter.

But any hopes that Atahualpa might have fostered to become the unifying leader that his father had been were very quickly scuppered. Immediately after claiming overall power, he faced another very real threat to his authority. Pizarro had returned from Spain with a mandate from Queen Isabella to conquer Peru for the Spanish Crown. The previously resilient empire was now fractured and vulnerable – and very much ripe for the taking. The scars of the civil war weren't just visible, the wounds were still open and weeping.

## A DANGEROUS TRAP

Pizarro landed in Peru without a substantial number of men, but his confidence was high. He possessed both the ruthlessness of an opportunist and a politically sharp brain, and he quickly understood how vulnerable the new regime was in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. The overthrow of the Aztec empire in Mexico a decade earlier by his compatriot Hernán Cortés offered a blueprint for the removal of a ruler and the erasure of a civilisation.

**"THE PREVIOUSLY RESILIENT EMPIRE WAS NOW FRACTURED AND VULNERABLE – AND VERY MUCH RIPE FOR THE TAKING"**

Having sent an envoy to investigate the extent of their manpower and weaponry, Atahualpa appeared unconcerned by the presence of these Spaniards. He should have been worried, though. As ragged as they might have appeared, as modest as their number was, their ranks contained the most experienced combatants Spain could muster, soldiers ready to embark on an exercise of colonisation – and to fill their pockets with gold.

Atahualpa allowed Pizarro's men to head inland, where they based themselves in the mountain town of Cajamarca. Once settled, they issued an invitation for the Sapa Inca to dine with them, including an assurance that he'd come to no harm. But on his arrival in the main square, in the company of 3,000–4,000 of his men, Atahualpa was ambushed. Despite their numerical advantage (around 170 Spaniards formed the attack), the slings and small axes of his soldiers were no match for the Spanish cannon, nor for Pizarro's troops on horseback. Within a couple of hours, Atahualpa lost thousands. Every last Spaniard survived.

Atahualpa survived, too, for the time being, at least. Observing the Spanish eye for gold, the imprisoned Sapa Inca promised Pizarro untold riches in return for their withdrawal and his release: a room filled with gold and two more filled with silver. He was kept in captivity while the treasure was amassed.

But there would be more double-crossing. Anxious that he, his men and the riches wouldn't be able to leave intact, Pizarro, via a short trial, ordered Atahualpa's execution. Were he burned at the stake as sentenced, Atahualpa's body could not be mummified after his death, so he struck a last deal with Pizarro. He would convert to Christianity in return for an alternative method of death.

## CONQUEST COMPLETE

The execution of the last Sapa Inca precipitated the end of empire, with Cuzco falling to the Spanish in November 1533. Manco Inca Yupanqui, a son of Huayna Cápac, was installed as a type of puppet Sapa Inca, but in 1536, he turned on the Spanish conquistadors who had promoted him and attempted to recapture Cuzco. A small Inca state existed in the mountains for more than 30 years, ruled by Yupanqui and his successors, but in 1572, Yupanqui's son Túpac Amaru was executed by the Spanish and the final Inca stronghold was extinguished. The mighty Inca empire was no more.

**WORDS: NIGE TASSELL**

**A 19th-century painting depicting Atahualpa's funeral. The emperor had agreed to convert to Christianity so that he could be executed by garrote and have his body preserved, rather than be burned at the stake**

MEET THE EXPERT

PROFESSOR BILL SILLAR ON THE LEGACY OF THE INCA EMPIRE

**BILL SILLAR** is professor of archaeology and technology in society at the UCL Institute of Archaeology. To hear Professor Sillar discuss the history of the Inca empire on the *HistoryExtra* podcast, scan the QR code shown here or visit *historyextra.com/inca-podcast*

# The empire harnessed an extraordinary diversity of cultures, languages and environments

Andean societies developed independent of influence from Europe, Asia or Africa more than 15,000 years ago. Many civilisations had come and gone before the Inca state emerged, and the Inca were able to harness and develop the domesticated plants and animals, technological innovations and complex forms of social organisation that their forebears had left behind.

The empire grew to incorporate around 10 million people with an extraordinary diversity of cultures, languages and environments. The amazing skill of the Inca was their ability to work with this diversity, acknowledging local forms of socio-economic organisation and religious beliefs. Functioning largely without money or markets, work was instead based on agreements between individuals that were scaled up to larger and larger community obligations, and reciprocated through the food, drink and clothing provided by the state. The other side of this was the use of violence towards reluctant groups; indeed, the Spanish conquest succeeded because disaffected indigenous peoples thought they would do better by siding with the Spanish against the Inca.

But although the Inca empire fell more than four centuries ago, its legacy remains visible today. Inca architecture is still contributing to the Andean economies, with tourists flocking to sites such as Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo and Cuzco, while many Inca roads, terraces and canals have been adapted for modern use. Indigenous people have also developed and maintained numerous aspects of Andean culture, notably the Quechua language, with an estimated 10 million speakers living across the Americas today.

Importantly, we can learn from the lifestyles of the Inca and their modern Andean successors, such as the practice of labour exchange between households (*ayni*) and their willingness to work together on community projects, such as building schools. It is also important to note that Andean worldviews consider the Earth and each place to be living entities that we (people) are in a reciprocal relationship with and have a duty to nurture. This is a much more appropriate attitude for the 21st century than the exploitation and greed that drove the European conquest.

Some mysteries remain, however. While we can see continuities from Wari and Tiwanaku culture into Inca society, it is not clear how this was transmitted between the time of the Wari collapse and the Inca expansion 400 years later. It is hoped this may become clearer as research continues to investigate the origins and development of the Inca in the Cuzco region.

Similarly, while we have deciphered the numerical system used in Inca state *khipus* (knotted-string devices used for recording information), new work is taking place to decipher other aspects of *khipu* recording and narrative content, including exciting research into the continuities of *khipu* use during the colonial period. There is still much to learn.

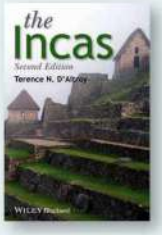
GETTY IMAGES X2

The governor of Cuzco discusses Covid-19 safety measures at Machu Picchu. Hundreds of thousands of people visit the site each year

# GET HOOKED

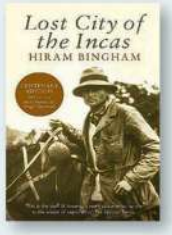
Explore the Inca empire further with our pick of key resources

## BOOKS




**The Incas (2nd Edition)**
**By Terence N D'Altroy**
**(Wiley–Blackwell, 2014)**

Drawing on history, archaeology, and ethnography, D'Altroy charts the Inca civilisation's extraordinary rise as a sophisticated Andean society to its rapid demise little more than a century later at the hands of Spanish conquistadors.

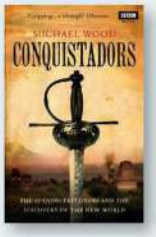



**Lost City of the Incas**
**By Hiram Bingham**
**(W&N, 2003; first published in 1948)**

In 1911, the American academic Hiram Bingham travelled to Peru in search of the legendary city of Vilcabamba, but instead stumbled on the perfectly preserved ruins of Machu Picchu, a discovery he describes in this, his bestselling book.

**Peru: A Journey in Time**
**By Cecilia Pardo and Jago Cooper**
**(British Museum Press, 2021)**

Documenting the British Museum's landmark 2021 exhibition, this beautifully illustrated book features a range of essays that survey the development of high civilisation in the central Andes over the four millennia prior to the arrival of the Spanish.




**Conquistadors**
**By Michael Wood**
**(BBC Books, 2000)**

Based on his BBC TV series of the same name, Wood explores the Spanish conquest of the Americas in the 16th century, travelling from Amazonia to Lake Titicaca and from the deserts of New Mexico to the heights of Machu Picchu.

## ON THE BBC

BBC RADIO 4

**◀ In Our Time: The Inca**
*bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0005t68*
Melvyn Bragg (*pictured*) and guests, including Prof Bill Sillar, discuss how the people of Cuzco, in modern Peru, established an empire along the Andes down to the Pacific.

BBC RADIO 4extra

**◀ Who found Machu Picchu?**
*bbc.co.uk/programmes/b015cmrt*
Explorer Hugh Thomson investigates the story behind the discovery of the Inca ruins of Machu Picchu in Peru.

BBC RADIO 4

**◀ Start the Week: What if the Incas had colonised Europe?**
*bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000v891*
Laurent Binet, Dr Caroline Dodds Pennock and Dr Christienna Fryar discuss counterfactual history and rethinking the past with Andrew Marr.

## ONLINE AND AUDIO

**▶ For podcasts, features, quizzes, interviews and more on the Inca, visit our website. Scan the QR code right, or visit *historyextra.com***

**▶ The Inca empire: everything you wanted to know**
Prof Bill Sillar answers listener-submitted questions about the mighty South American empire. Listen at *bit.ly/3ltutlh*

**▶ Machu Picchu: the rediscovery of the Inca stronghold in Peru**
The Inca stronghold of Machu Picchu lay abandoned for over 350 years, until whip-cracking archaeologist Hiram Bingham stumbled across it. Read at *bit.ly/3XZN9yV*

**▶ The last days of the Incas**
Nige Tassell recounts how greed and God signalled the death knell of the Inca empire. Read at *bit.ly/3Z0TV8K*

## WATCH

BBC iPlayer

**Simon Reeve's South America**
**(BBC iPlayer)**

In episode three of his 2022 series exploring South America, Simon Reeve travels through the Andes, starting his journey at the ruins of Machu Picchu.

GETTY IMAGES X2, BBC X2

# HOGARTH'S BRITONS

## Succession, Patriotism and the Jacobite Rebellion

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William Hogarth, *The March of the Guards to Finchley*, 1749-1750, oil on canvas. © The Foundling Museum, London

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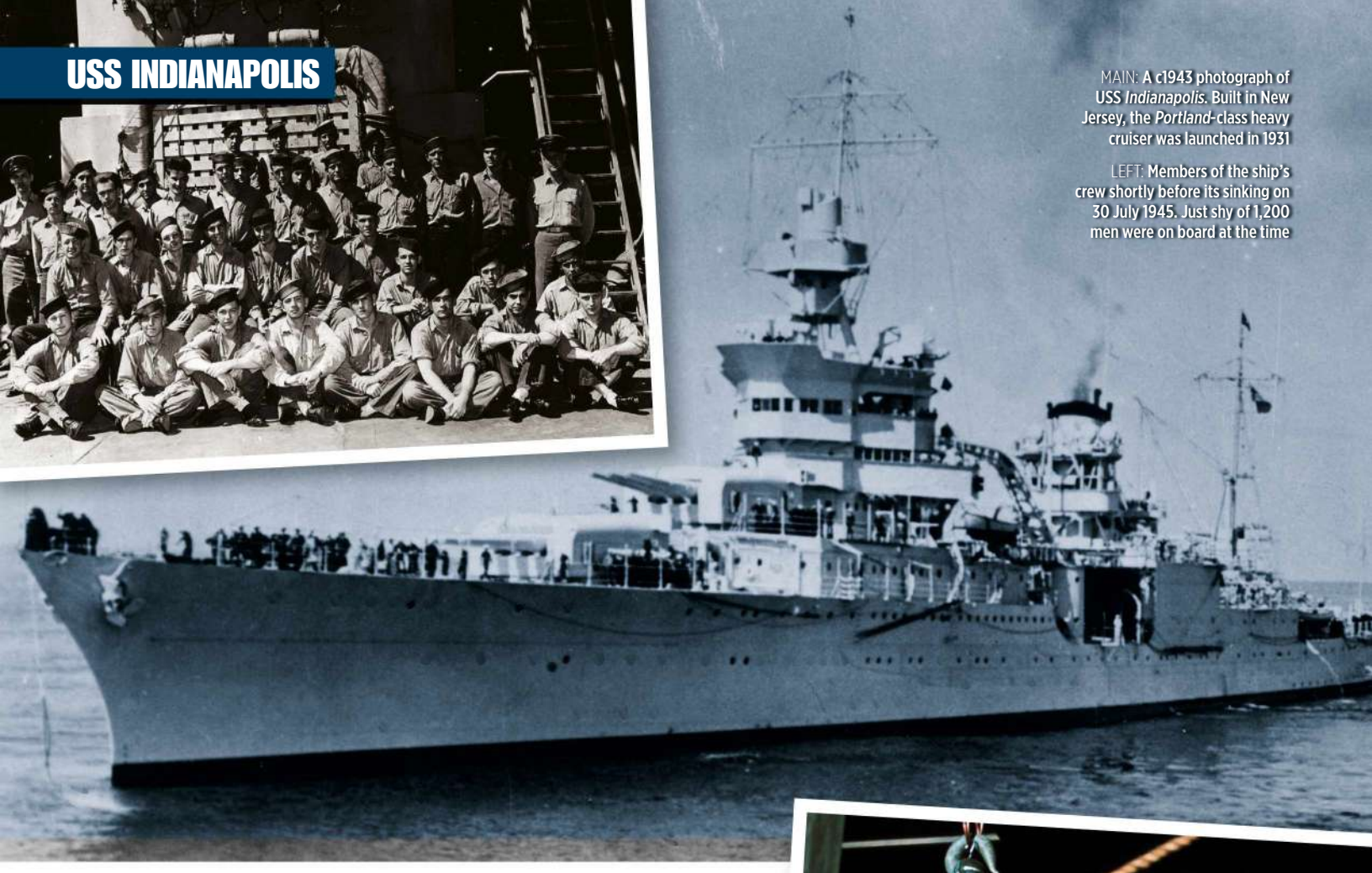
USS *Indianapolis* pictured shortly before its fateful final mission (*top*), along with a still (*below*) from the 2016 film *USS Indianapolis: Men of Courage*, based on the story of the disaster. The fate of its crew also inspired a monologue in *Jaws* (1975)

# INTO THE JAWS OF HELL

In the final days of World War II, a US Navy crew endured unimaginable horrors when they were left stranded in the waters of the Pacific, facing hypothermia, madness and sharks. **Jonny Wilkes** tells the story of USS *Indianapolis*, and reveals how its sinking inspired a speech in a Spielberg masterpiece

GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X1

# USS INDIANAPOLIS



MAIN: A c1943 photograph of USS *Indianapolis*. Built in New Jersey, the *Portland*-class heavy cruiser was launched in 1931

LEFT: Members of the ship's crew shortly before its sinking on 30 July 1945. Just shy of 1,200 men were on board at the time

"That's the USS *Indianapolis*," mumbles Quint as he points to a scar on his arm; a tattoo he had removed a long time ago. The very name stops Hooper's laughter. The jovial mood is lost and the men's drunken, one-upping exchange of stories about their shark-inflicted wounds abandoned. A look of pained understanding now on his face, Hooper can only say: "You were on the *Indianapolis*?" So begins a monologue by the grizzled, briny and fanatical shark hunter Quint in *Jaws* (1975), a chilling three and a half minutes that have gone down in cinema lore.

At the core of the scene was a real ship, a heavy cruiser sunk by the enemy in World War II after completing the most top-secret of missions. And that was just the beginning of a traumatic ordeal, the worst disaster in US naval history. While not everything said by Quint – played to perfection by Robert Shaw – was factually accurate, the scene captured the tragedy with harrowing authenticity. It got survivors who saw Steven Spielberg's movie talking about what they went through, many for the first time, and helped ensure the *Indianapolis* would not be forgotten.

By mid-1945, USS *Indianapolis*, or 'Indy' to the crew, had earned 10 battle stars serving in the Pacific Theatre, but its war looked to be over when damaged by a Japanese kamikaze fighter off Okinawa. Instead, while at Hunters Point Naval Shipyard in San Francisco Bay, orders came in to transport a mystery cargo with all haste to the island of Tinian. No one, including the captain, could know what was inside the two cylindrical containers and large crate brought aboard and kept under armed guard at all times.

## TORPEDO TERROR

The purpose of the top-secret mission was to deliver the enriched uranium and some of the parts that would make the atomic bomb, Little Boy: the one to be dropped on Hiroshima. The crew's guesses of airplane engines, whiskey to celebrate the end of the war, or scented toilet paper for the Pacific commander, were way off. The Indy completed the voyage without incident in just 10 days, arriving on 26 July and met by a host of high-ranking officers impatient to take control of the cargo. The job done, the ship headed for Guam before making for the Philippines. It wouldn't get there.

*Quint: "Japanese submarine slammed two torpedoes into our side, chief. We was comin' back from the island of Tinian to Leyte. We'd just delivered the bomb. The Hiroshima bomb. Eleven hundred men went into the water. Vessel went down in 12 minutes."*

Shortly after midnight on 30 July 1945, the submarine *I-58* snuck up on the *Indianapolis* and fired six torpedoes.

Robert Shaw as Quint in the Steven Spielberg film *Jaws* (1975). In a now-iconic scene, the fictional character talks about his experiences of surviving the sinking of USS *Indianapolis* – and his terrifying encounters with sharks

Japan may have been near defeat, but commander Mochitsura Hashimoto intended to keep fighting. One torpedo slammed into the starboard bow and another hit amidships, setting off huge explosions and causing the ship to list severely. It took only 12 minutes to sink. The Japanese sub had prepared for another attack before realising that was not needed and making a swift exit from the area.

Of the nearly 1,200 men on board, around 900 survived the sinking and went into the water when the order was given to abandon ship. With many terribly burned or injured, they left with the barest provisions and limited numbers of lifejackets, and in the darkness they could not see that they were leaping into the gloopy oil slick leaking from the engines.

GETTY IMAGES X5, ALAMY X2

**"During daylight, the sun burned them; at night, they shivered from unbearable cold"**

*Quint: "Didn't see the first shark for about a half an hour. Tiger, 13-footer. You know how you know that when you're in the water, chief? You can tell by lookin' from the dorsal to the tail. What we didn't know, was our bomb mission had been so secret, no distress signal had been sent. They didn't even list us overdue for a week."*

## SIGNS OF DISTRESS

There was a catalogue of catastrophic failings that doomed the *Indianapolis*. The ship did not have sonar to detect submarines and the captain's request for an escort had been denied, despite naval intelligence of enemy activity in the area. Meanwhile at Leyte, it was not regulation to record an arrival, meaning that nothing was done when the Indy failed to show up when expected on 31 July.

Perhaps most egregiously, although multiple distress signals had been sent before the ship went down – warrant officer Leonard Woods gave his life staying in the radio room – the three stations that received them failed to act. One commander was allegedly drunk, another had demanded he not be disturbed as he played cards, and the third dismissed the message as a Japanese trap.

*Quint: "Very first light, chief, sharks come cruisin', so we formed ourselves into tight groups. You know, it was kinda like old squares in a battle, like that you see on a calendar, like the battle of Waterloo, and the idea was the shark comes to the nearest man and he starts poundin' and hollerin' and screamin', and sometimes the shark go away... but sometimes he wouldn't go away.*

*"Sometimes that shark, he looks right into you. Right into your eyes. You know, the thing about a shark, he's got... lifeless eyes. Black eyes. Like a doll's eyes. When he comes at ya, he doesn't seem to be livin'... until he bites ya, and those black eyes roll over white and then... oh, then you hear that terrible high-pitched screamin'. The ocean turns red, and despite all the poundin' and the hollerin' they all come in and they... rip you to pieces."*

## STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Hundreds of miles from land and in shark-infested waters, the men waited for a rescue that would never come. The hours turned into days. Using lifejackets or, if lucky, a handful of rafts, floater nets and debris from the wreck, they bobbed on the surface in small groups. During daylight, the sun burned them; at night, they shivered from unbearable cold. They had no drinkable water (other than what could be cupped in their hands during a brief spell of rain) and no food, save for a handful of men who eventually salvaged some Spam and crackers.

*Quint: "You know by the end of that first dawn, lost a hundred men. I don't know how many sharks, maybe a thousand. I don't know how many men, they averaged six an hour. On Thursday mornin', chief, I bumped into a friend of mine, Herbie Robinson from Cleveland. Baseball player. Bosun's mate. I thought he was asleep. I reached over to wake him up. He bobbed up and down in the water, he was like a kinda top. Upended. Well... he'd been bitten in half below the waist."*

TOP: **Japanese naval commander Mochitsura Hashimoto testifies at a US inquiry after the war**

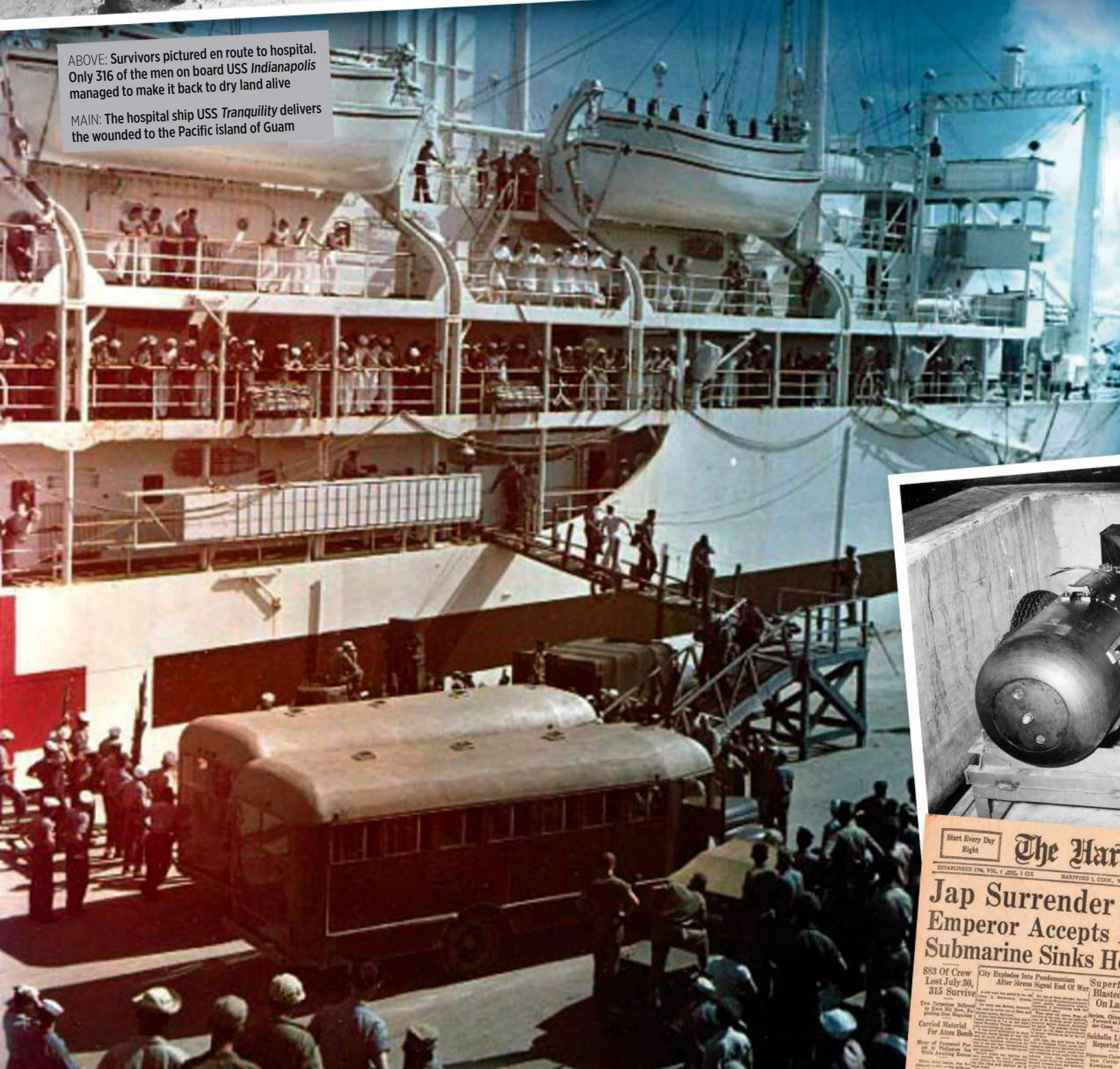
CENTRE: **Three crew members on board *I-58* – the submarine that launched the attack**

BOTTOM: ***I-58* moments before being scuttled by the US Navy in 1946**

**"The descent into madness caused some men to turn on their friends, attacking them in the belief that they were the enemy"**

ABOVE: Survivors pictured en route to hospital. Only 316 of the men on board USS *Indianapolis* managed to make it back to dry land alive

MAIN: The hospital ship USS *Tranquility* delivers the wounded to the Pacific island of Guam





Start Every Day Right

The Har

ESTABLISHED 1796 VOL. CXII HARTFORD 1, CONN.

Jap Surrender

Emperor Accepts

Submarine Sinks H

883 Of Crew Lost July 30, 315 Survive

City Explodes Into Pandemonium After Sirens Signal End Of War

Carried Material For Atom Bomb

Super Blaste On La

All the while, men were dying. Hundreds of sharks, mostly oceanic whitetips and tigers, circled the groups and got so close they bumped into legs. At first, they went for the mounting dead bodies, but grew bolder with each attack until wrenching screams and men being pulled under became frequent occurrences.

## SAVED BY AN ANGEL

Sharks were not the only killers, though. More succumbed to dehydration, hypothermia and exhaustion; others choked on the oil or were poisoned by salt water. Drinking too much caused hallucinations, from imaginary islands in the distance to fresh water being served on the Indy wreck at the bottom of the sea. The descent into madness caused some men to turn on their friends, attacking them in the belief they were the enemy. One last killer was losing the will to live. By the third day, many could not fight any longer and let themselves sink under the surface.

*Quint: "Noon the fifth day, Mr Hooper, a Lockheed Ventura saw us, she swung in low and saw us. A young pilot, a lot younger than Mr Hooper. Anyway, he saw us and he come in low. And three hours later, a big fat PBY comes down and starts to pick us up. You know that was the time I was most frightened. Waitin' for my turn. I'll never put on a lifejacket again."*

On 2 August, the fourth day in the water, salvation finally came when a passing PV-1 Ventura on a routine patrol, piloted by Chuck Gwinn, happened to spot the survivors, almost impossibly from 3,000 feet up. Gwinn – the 'Angel' – sent for help, and a PBY seaplane arrived on the scene. Pilot Adrian Marks ignored orders not to land on the water and loaded up 56 men, even laying them out on the wings. Although he could not take off, his plane became a safe haven.

## BURYING THE NEWS

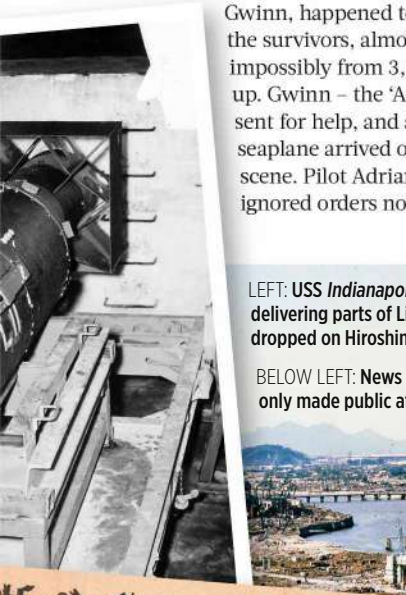
By now, a major rescue operation was underway with ships racing to the spot. The first, USS *Cecil J Doyle*, arrived after dark and the captain turned on the searchlights, against wartime regulations, as a beacon. Since the survivors were spread over many miles of ocean, the rescue went well into the fifth day – with shark attacks and deaths continuing the whole time.

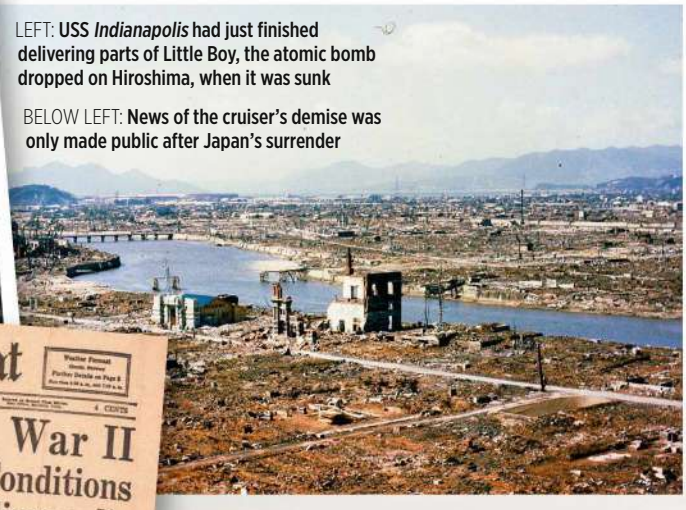
*Quint: "So, eleven hundred men went into the water. 316 men come out, the sharks took the rest, June the 29th, 1945."*

While the sharks were by no means responsible for all the deaths, of the around 900 men who went into the water – on 30 July, not 29 June – only 316 came out again. Four days after the rescue began, Little Boy was dropped on Hiroshima; the survivors learning of the first nuclear weapon from their hospital beds in Guam. By then, their tragedy was being buried. News of the *Indianapolis* would not be made public until the day of Japan's surrender. And for the captain, the ordeal was far from over (*see box, right*).

*Jaws* brought the story of the *Indianapolis* to new generations and gave voice to the remaining survivors, many of whom had struggled to talk about their experiences in the decades afterwards. It is why when many people hear the name *Indianapolis* to this day, their reaction is similar to Hooper's. The 316 men that Quint embodies went through nothing short of hell. They suffered unimaginable hardships, they lost friends, they witnessed countless horrors, and they carried their pain for the rest of their lives.

*Quint: "Anyway, we delivered the bomb..."*





LEFT: **USS *Indianapolis* had just finished delivering parts of Little Boy, the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, when it was sunk**

BELOW LEFT: **News of the cruiser's demise was only made public after Japan's surrender**

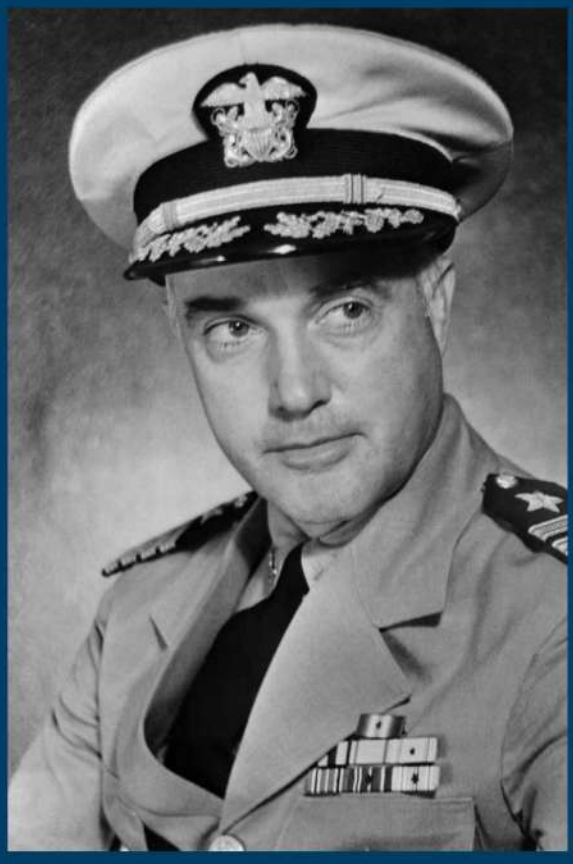
ABOVE: **Hiroshima lies in ruins following the bombing of the city on 6 August 1945; three days later, Nagasaki suffered the same fate**

## GOING DOWN WITH THE SHIP

### Did the captain of the stricken cruiser do enough to stop the tragedy from happening?

**Surviving the sinking and the days in the water, Charles B McVay III, captain of the *Indianapolis*, was court-martialled – the only time such an action has been taken in US Navy history. Although cleared of failing to abandon ship in a "timely" manner, he was found guilty of not employing evasive zigzagging manoeuvres before the attack. That is despite the extraordinary move of having the commander of the Japanese submarine testify, only for him to say that zigzagging would have achieved nothing.**

**McVay never fully recovered, and took his own life in 1968. But the survivors knew their captain had been scapegoated and worked to clear his name for decades. Finally, in the 1990s, public sympathy rose in their favour after a 12-year-old student, Hunter Scott, made headlines after studying the Indy for a history project and interviewed hundreds of survivors. In 2000, the US Congress passed a joint resolution exonerating McVay.**



McVay became the first US Navy officer to be court-martialled for losing a ship. He never recovered from the ordeal of being made a scapegoat

## GET HOOKED

**LISTEN**
Professor Saul David discusses the Pacific War on a recent episode of the *HistoryExtra* podcast: *historyextra.com/pacific-war-pod*

GETTY IMAGES X3, ALAMY X4

# SEEING THINGS

A picture tells a thousand words, so they say. But it doesn't always follow that those words speak the truth, as the stories behind these remarkable hoax photographs demonstrate

## FAIRY HUNTERS, 1917

When cousins Frances Griffiths (*above*) and Elsie Wright (*opposite page and right*) produced photos of themselves seemingly interacting with sprites, gnomes and fairies, they achieved overnight notoriety and sparked widespread debate. The validity of the photographs divided opinion for more than 60 years, until Elsie finally confessed to the hoax, in 1983: the fairies were, in fact, drawings secured in the ground and to branches with hatpins.

GETTY IMAGES X3

## GROW YOUR OWN, 1911

▲ In what is surely every gardener's dream, two men struggle to squeeze a giant root vegetable through a cellar door. Despite their jaw-dropping size, these giant veggies were actually the work of photographer Alfred Stanley Johnson, who was known for adding oversized produce to staged photographs to create 'tall-tale' postcards that promoted Wisconsin's agricultural abundance.

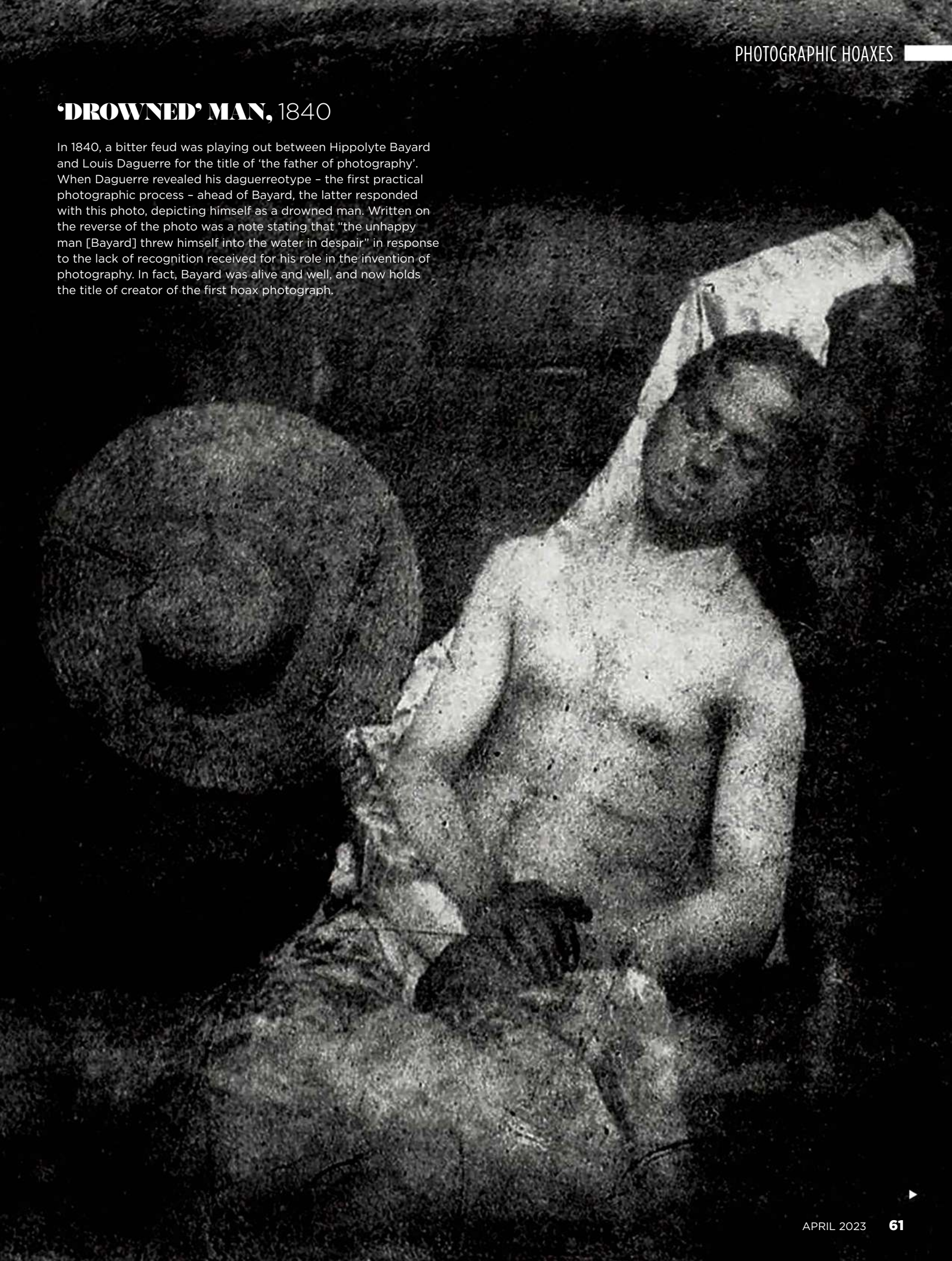
## ALIEN ENCOUNTERS, 1976

▲ When Swiss national Billy Meier claimed he had proof that he had been in contact with aliens from the Pleiades star cluster since the age of five, few believed him. Determined to prove his story, Meier produced photographs purporting to show UFOs hovering over the Swiss countryside. Meier went on to found a UFO religion, but his photos have been widely dismissed as fakes.

GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X1

## **'DROWNED' MAN,** 1840

In 1840, a bitter feud was playing out between Hippolyte Bayard and Louis Daguerre for the title of 'the father of photography'. When Daguerre revealed his daguerreotype – the first practical photographic process – ahead of Bayard, the latter responded with this photo, depicting himself as a drowned man. Written on the reverse of the photo was a note stating that "the unhappy man [Bayard] threw himself into the water in despair" in response to the lack of recognition received for his role in the invention of photography. In fact, Bayard was alive and well, and now holds the title of creator of the first hoax photograph.



## SPIRIT SITTERS, c1862–75

▲ These eerie photos were the work of American 'spirit photographer' William H Mumler, who, in the wake of the American Civil War, claimed he could reunite grieving sitters – on camera at least – with their deceased loved ones one last time. It's unclear exactly how Mumler achieved such ghostly effects but, despite scepticism and accusations of fraud, there were many willing to pay to have their likeness taken with their dearly departed.

GETTY IMAGES X4, ALAMY X2

## PRESIDENTIAL PROGRESS, 1912

◀ No, your eyes do not deceive you. This is a photograph of Theodore Roosevelt crossing a river on a giant moose. It wasn't, however, taken from life. The image was created by photography firm Underwood and Underwood as Roosevelt was campaigning as a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party (also known as the Bull Moose Party). The image was published in the *New York Tribune* on 8 September 1912 alongside photographs of two other candidates: incumbent William Howard Taft was depicted astride an elephant, while Woodrow Wilson was pictured on the back of a donkey.

## SHAM SHOWMAN, 1938

▼ Welsh medium Colin Evans, shown here seemingly levitating in the air, drew in huge crowds with his claims that he could be lifted from his chair by the 'power of the spirits'. In truth, however, he was little more than a fraud. As the audience sat in the pitch dark around him, Evans would jump into the air, simultaneously pressing a button on the end of a cord (seen here in his left hand) that would trigger a flash-photograph. The resulting image gave the impression of levitation, although his blurred feet, their movement captured on film as he jumped, would eventually give him away.

## MONSTER MYTHS, 1934

▲ Since the first account by Saint Columba in AD 565 of a monster lurking beneath the waters of Loch Ness, the hunt has been underway to find 'Nessie'. Several images have emerged over the years allegedly 'proving' the monster's existence, including this one, taken by doctor Robert Kenneth Wilson in 1934 and published in the *Daily Mail* that same year. Decades later, Wilson's 'monster' was found to have been created by grafting a plastic wood neck to a toy submarine. ⊙

**WORDS: CHARLOTTE HODGMAN**

# WHAT IF... HENRY V HADN'T DIED IN 1422?

**Professor Anne Curry** and **Nige Tassell** consider the future shape of English and French history had the victor of Agincourt lived longer

Since his unexpected victory at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, Henry V's fortunes had been transformed. From being a monarch in fear of being deposed by those closest to him, within a handful of years he was heir to the French throne. His succession was set out in the treaty of Troyes in 1420, an agreement that also outlined his marriage to Catherine of Valois, daughter of the French king, Charles VI.

With support from Burgundy, Henry continued in his campaign to win further support for Charles in Armagnac territory, which was resolute in its backing of the French king's son, the Dauphin Charles, who had lost his inheritance rights when the treaty was signed. His power had also diminished by being implicated in the murder of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy.

But before he could consolidate the remainder of the country, Henry died in August 1422 after contracting dysentery. His son, Henry, became king of England, and when Charles VI passed away a few weeks later, the young infant inherited the French crown too. He wasn't yet a year old.

## DEFEATING THE DAUPHIN

Henry V's premature death throws up a number of talking points. Had Henry outlived Charles VI and become dual king, what would the relationship between England and France have resembled – and what would have been the consequences for the rest of Europe – under such a strong leader? Anne Curry, emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Southampton and the author of several books on Henry V and Agincourt, is in no doubt that Henry's campaign to rid France of the Dauphin would have been entirely necessary for France's internal security.

"I am sure Henry would have continued with military activity to ensure other areas accepted the treaty of Troyes. His focus had to be on defeating the Dauphin. The treaty emphasised the hope of Anglo-French reconciliation and Henry was seen by many French people as the only man strong enough to restore peace and stability. In his conquest of Normandy, Henry had won over hearts and minds with his fair but firm rule. He had the skills and the insights, as well as the personal determination, to make a union of the English and French crowns work. Had the Dauphin been killed, the double monarchy would have been considerably strengthened."

## BALANCE OF POWER

The dual monarchy would have been a delicate balance of power for Henry, though, as Professor Curry explains. "In December 1420, the English parliament had already expressed its concerns about his long absence to date – he had been in France continuously from August 1417 – and his likely long absences in the future. He could not be in two places at once.

"But I often ponder what might have happened if the double monarchy had survived, given that the countries were so often at war in later centuries. Can we imagine a world without a Louis XIV or a Napoleon, or without a Nelson or a Wellington?"

When he came of age, Henry VI proved to be a much weaker leader in comparison to his resolute, swashbuckling father. He was no chip off the block. Had Henry V lived longer, would he have been able to mould his son into being a more competent monarch, endowing him with the required skills and acumen?

"He never knew his father," says Professor Curry. "Had he had a longer apprenticeship and hands-on guidance, perhaps he would have displayed more

## IN CONTEXT

The premature death of Henry V in 1422, aged just 35, was a significant loss for England. By then, Henry was heir to the French throne, thanks to the terms of the Treaty of Troyes and his marriage to Catherine of Valois, the daughter of French king Charles VI. He was a strong and capable leader, who could have brought the kingdoms of England and France together under a single monarch, but his death meant that the alliance was doomed in the following decades as his young son, Henry VI, took over. France would ultimately claim victory in the Hundred Years' War, with many subsequent conflicts breaking out between the two countries across the centuries.

Henry V and Catherine of Valois depicted meeting in Troyes. The couple's son, Henry VI, inherited the thrones of England and France at just nine months old

GETTY IMAGES X3

ABOVE: **Henry V shown defending his brother the Duke of Gloucester on the battlefield at Agincourt in 1415**

TOP LEFT: **The two kings Charles VI (*left*) and Henry V depicted entering Paris on Advent Sunday, 1420**

interest in the French wars. Even though he was taken there in 1430 for his coronation, he didn't demonstrate his father's level of commitment to France. However, remember that Henry V had a bad relationship with his own father, so we cannot assume that, had he survived, he would have been able to make the future Henry VI into a warrior prince."

## DIVERTED DESTINY

Had Henry V lived another 20 or 30 years, then Catherine would almost certainly not have remarried, as she did in 1428. The identity of her second husband would be significant for the future of England. "There was a reluctance to allow her to remarry," explains Professor Curry. "A parliamentary statute was even needed to control it. There were rumours that Edmund Beaufort had made her pregnant, but, to cover this, she married Owen Tudor, an insignificant Welsh esquire."

**DID YOU KNOW?**

**BATTLE SCAR**

In 1403, the 16-year-old future Henry V almost died at the battle of Shrewsbury when an arrow hit him just below the eye and became lodged in the bone at the back of his skull. A special device had to be made to unscrew the arrowhead.

## "CAN WE IMAGINE A WORLD WITHOUT LOUIS XIV OR NAPOLEON, WITHOUT NELSON OR THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON?"

Having two sons with her new husband meant the Tudors were brought into the bloodline of monarchical succession and English history was diverted towards a different destiny. Without this, there may have been no split with Rome, keeping England a Catholic country for longer. Also, James VI and I may not have occupied the thrones of both England and Scotland, thus delaying the future unification of the kingdoms. Alternatively, under Henry V, it may have occurred much earlier.

"With the kingdoms of France and England united," concludes Professor Curry, "Scotland would have lost its 'auld alliance' with France. As a result, I reckon there would have been renewed interest in bringing Scotland into the fold. Perhaps the creation of a triple crown?"

**LISTEN**

Professor Anne Curry answers key questions about the Hundred Years' War in an episode of the *HistoryExtra* podcast, recorded in 2020: *historyextra.com/anne-curry-pod*

**NEXT MONTH**

**What if... Richard I had recaptured Jerusalem?**

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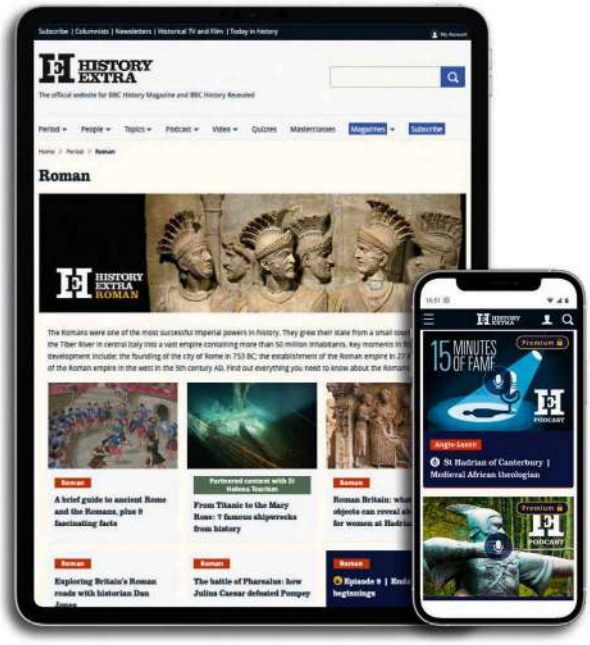


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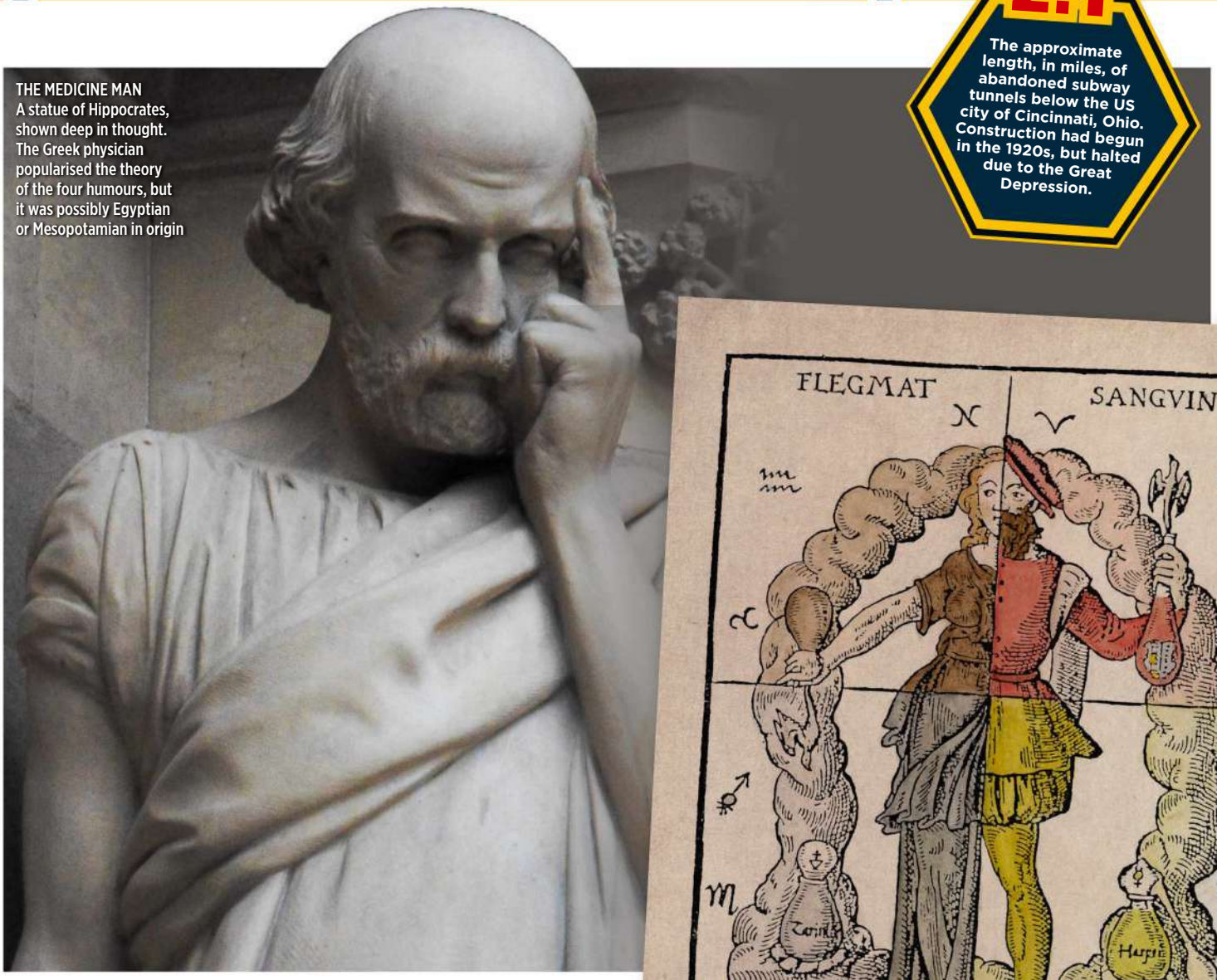
**2.1**
The approximate length, in miles, of abandoned subway tunnels below the US city of Cincinnati, Ohio. Construction had begun in the 1920s, but halted due to the Great Depression.



THE MEDICINE MAN
A statue of Hippocrates, shown deep in thought. The Greek physician popularised the theory of the four humours, but it was possibly Egyptian or Mesopotamian in origin

AN IMPERFECT PICTURE OF HEALTH
A 1570s depiction of the four humours: *flegmat* (phlegm), *sanguin* (blood), *coleric* (yellow bile) and *melanc* (black bile)

# Who came up with humourism?

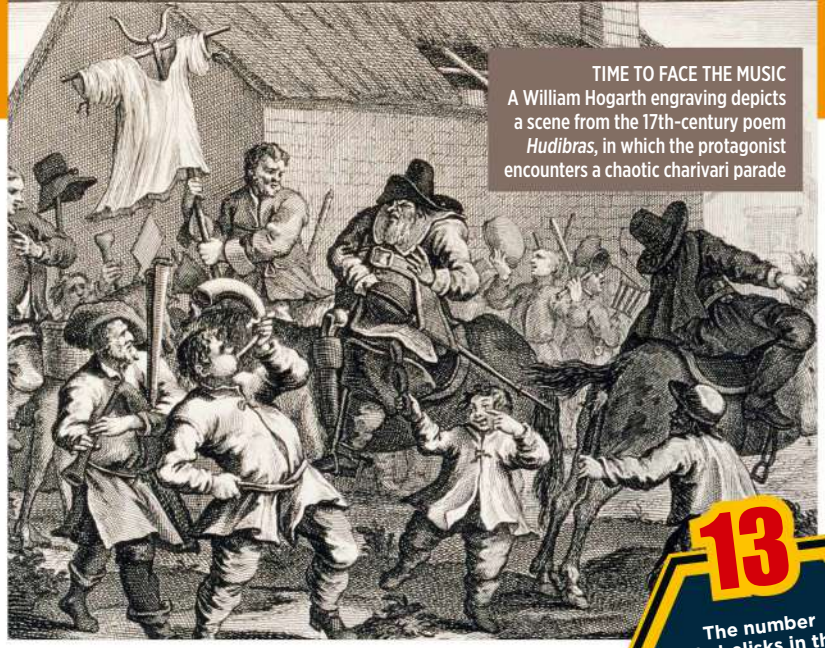
**SHORT ANSWER** Hippocrates gets the credit for making sure the four humours were no joke for two millennia

**LONG ANSWER** For well over 2,000 years, a foundational belief of western medicine was that the body was made up of four 'humours' or fluids that determined everything about a person – from behaviour to health. Blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm all struck a delicate equilibrium of not too hot or cold, and not too wet or dry. If they became unbalanced, however, they caused illness. This is why cures like bloodletting and purging took off.

Perhaps it should come as no surprise that the name most associated with such an epochal theory was the 'father of western medicine' himself, fifth-century BC Greek physician Hippocrates. While ever-so-slightly inaccurate, it was pioneering stuff: instead of divine intervention or evil spirits, there was now a bodily explanation for poor health. Humourism shows up in *On the Nature of Man*, part of the medical works known as the Hippocratic Corpus.

That doesn't necessarily mean he personally devised the concept of the four humours (in fact, the idea may have originated in Egypt and Mesopotamia), but being in the Hippocrates stable certainly helped medical practices catch on. Then when the Roman physician Galen espoused humourism, its influence in Europe remained until the spread of germ theory (pardon the pun) in the 1850s, promoted by the likes of Louis Pasteur.

ALAMY X2



TIME TO FACE THE MUSIC
A William Hogarth engraving depicts a scene from the 17th-century poem *Hudibras*, in which the protagonist encounters a chaotic charivari parade

# What was charivari?

**SHORT ANSWER** A noisy and occasionally dangerous form of social justice

**LONG ANSWER** Noise and chaos were key tenets of the social ritual of charivari, common in Europe and North America from medieval to early modern times. A person deemed to have flouted the rules and expectations of the community would be dragged directly from their home and paraded while onlookers berated them, banged pots and pans, blew horns, and rang cowbells.

The wrongdoer didn't even have to be present during charivari – also known as a skimmington or rough music, as it was a rather loud affair – as the mob could parade an effigy or proxy instead. As long as public humiliation got in there, there were no hard rules.

And the social crimes varied: from a person remarrying too soon, or remarrying at all, to committing adultery and beating their wives. The lesson could be too harsh, though, as in some instances the person punished was banished or became so ashamed that they took their own lives.

**13**

The number of obelisks in the city of Rome. That is more than in the whole of Egypt, although eight of the Roman ones are Egyptian in origin.

# Why do we say 'gossip'?

**SHORT ANSWER** Alright, here's the gossip: the term was borne from, well, the birthing room

**LONG ANSWER** So, you're a medieval or early modern woman expecting a child, right? And suddenly, you realise you're going into labour. The next thing you do is get together a group of your closest female friends and family members to be with you in the room: they'll offer you emotional support, and maybe even deliver the baby if the midwife leaves you in the lurch.

Just so you know, these women are known as 'gossips'. The word comes from the Old English word *godsibb*, meaning the godparents of a child or the parents of one's godchild. As the story goes, its meaning evolved into what we know today – referring to salacious chit chat – because men were imagining the gossips spending the hours of a birthing telling stories or spreading rumours.

BIRTHING PARTNERS
Medieval and early modern mums often received plenty of assistance

WRITTEN IN THE STARS?
The Maya not only left behind stunning structures, such as the Temple of Kukulcán, but also a sophisticated calendar system

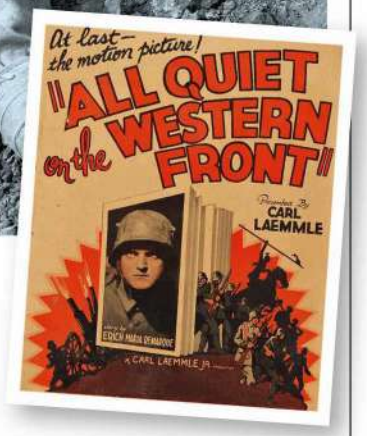
# Did the Maya really believe the world would end in 2012?

**SHORT ANSWER** Some dodgy decipherments of their calendar inspired the conspiracy theory

**LONG ANSWER** Just over a decade ago, there was some brouhaha about the imminent end of the world – Roland Emmerich even made a disaster movie about it – based on a prediction supposedly made by the Maya. Their sophisticated calendar system had been cracked, apparently, and the conclusion was that something apocalyptic would happen in December 2012.

Obviously, the world didn't end. And while the Maya calendar did end in 2012, as feared, this was merely a cycle of 13 *b'ak'tuns* (around 5,125 years) in the so-called Long Count Calendar. The Maya used this to pinpoint dates in the future by counting from the mythical date of creation, thought to be 11 August 3114 BC. Any concern about what happened after the 13th *b'ak'tun* didn't come from the Maya – in fact, only two references from Maya texts exist even mentioning this part of their system. The calendar simply reset, much like what happens every 1 January.

MAKING THEIR REMARQUE
Lew Ayres (*left*) and Raymond Griffith in the 1930 US version of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. An award-winning German adaptation was released on Netflix in 2022


At last—the motion picture!
"ALL QUIET on the WESTERN FRONT"
Produced by CARL LAEMMLE
Directed by ERICH MARIA REMARQUE
A CARL LAEMMLE JR.

# Did the Nazis like All Quiet on the Western Front?

**SHORT ANSWER** Everyone's a critic, they say, but the Nazis really took the film's anti-war message personally

**LONG ANSWER** "The League of Nations could make no better investment than to buy the master print, reproduce it in every language for every nation to be shown every year until the word 'war' shall have been taken out of the dictionaries," read the *Variety* review of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The American-made anti-war epic's harrowing depiction of World War I, based on Erich Maria Remarque's novel, was unlike anything audiences had seen before.

But when released in Germany in 1930, Adolf Hitler and his burgeoning Nazi Party despised it. A foreign film about their nation's soldiers that focused on despair, destruction and death rather than honour and willingness to sacrifice was deemed a threat to their ideology. On orders from the top, Brownshirts rampaged at a screening at Berlin's Mozartsaal on 5 December, destroying ticket counters, releasing mice, stink bombs and sneezing powder into the auditorium, and attacking 'Jewish' cinemagoers. All the while, Joseph Goebbels watched gleefully and yelled "A Jewish film!"

A week later, the Weimar government gave in and banned it. Other than the brief return of a heavily edited version in 1931, *All Quiet on the Western Front* would not be shown again in Germany until 1952.

## DID YOU KNOW?

**BEE GONE**
In the 11th century, a French peasant known as Leutard of Vertus was denounced as a heretic after declaring that he dreamed of a swarm of bees flying into his body (via the genitals) and out of his mouth before speaking to him.

**INITIAL BRANDING**
The British retailer WHSmith was founded by a HW Smith (Henry Walton). He and his wife Anna opened the first store in 1792 on Little Grosvenor Street, London, but it was their son, William Henry, who established the name.

**BETRAYED BY FRIENDS**
When mobs revolted against French occupation in Bruges in May 1302, they made anyone suspicious say the phrase *schild en vriend* ('shield and friend'). The French found it hard to pronounce, so would be identified.

**INCA-NCEIVABLE**
Edward King, Viscount Kingsborough, published a work titled *Antiquities of Mexico* in 1831 to prove that the Mesoamerican civilisations were descended from one of the 'lost tribes of Israel'. The project was so costly that he ended up in a debtor's prison.

# Did the Romans use papyrus?

**SHORT ANSWER** They arguably used it more than the Egyptians

**LONG ANSWER** Papyrus is most commonly associated with Egypt for obvious reasons: it was made from the *Cyperus papyrus* plant that grew along the banks of the Nile, and used as the Egyptians' chief writing material from around the fourth millennium BC. Cheap and easy make, the Greeks happily adopted papyrus, which in turn brought it to the attention of the Romans.

They used it extensively, with Rome filled with papyrus books, scrolls and documents. The scholar Pliny the Elder admiringly wrote about its production, and a healthy trade in the plant from the Nile delta region flourished. But as demand in Europe grew, alternatives had to be developed. Eventually, papyrus was superseded by parchment, vellum and paper.

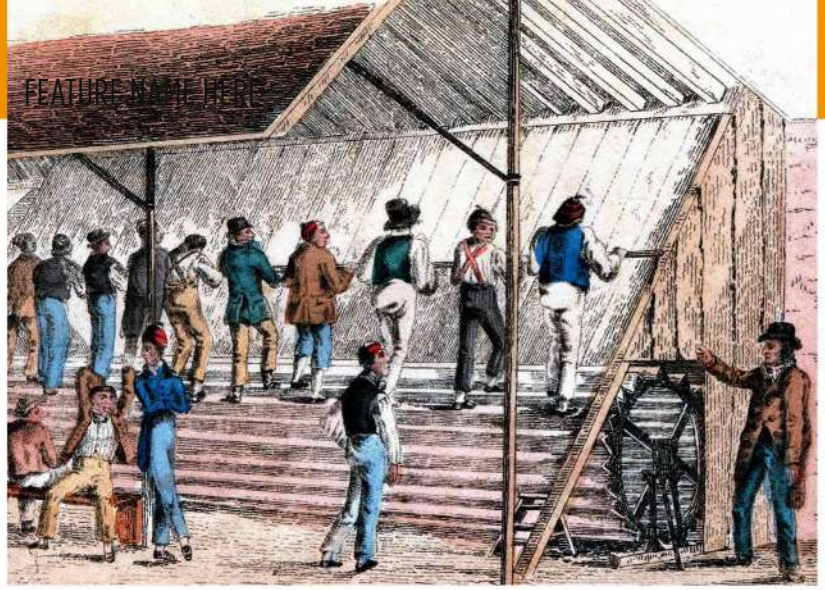
DON'T FORGET THE BREAD!
A Roman shopping list (in Greek), written on papyrus in the early third century BC

# Who was Silas Tomkyn Comberbache?

**SHORT ANSWER** Here's a clue: look at the initials and think romantic thoughts

**LONG ANSWER** Silas Tomkyn Comberbache left his studies at Jesus College, Cambridge, in December 1793 and enlisted in the 15th (The King's) Light Dragoons. He was in debt and just been jilted by the woman he loved, so needed a change of scene. It didn't last too long, since he was discharged a few months later. If that name sounds made up, by the way, you'd be right: it was the fake name concocted by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), the budding Romantic poet. He kept the same initials, at least, but his poetry arguably left a more enduring legacy than his short-lived sobriquet.

GETTY IMAGES X6



STEP ON IT! An 1827 illustration shows Cubitt's treadmill being used by inmates at Brixton Prison

# When was the treadmill invented?

**SHORT ANSWER** If you think time on the treadmill feels like torture, be grateful you're not in a 19th-century prison

**LONG ANSWER** In terms of the treadmill seen at the gym, American mechanical engineer William Staub deserves the plaudits for his 1968 creation. In terms of history's first treadmill-like machines, the ancient Greeks and Romans developed various devices, some like human-sized hamster wheels, to power pulley systems or waterwheels.

Yet a key development in between was made by an English engineer named William Cubitt. His intention wasn't to generate power or exercise, but punishment. In the early 19th century, concerned that Britain's prisons were filling up with idle inmates, he came up with the idea of getting them to walk on huge treadwheels to keep them tired and pliant. Essentially, they climbed a never-ending staircase to nowhere for six to 10 hours a day; a pointless punishment to, in Cubitt's words, "reform offenders by teaching them habits of industry". The penal treadwheel remained in use from 1818 until the end of the century.

**64**

The age of William IV when he became king in 1830. He was the oldest person to ascend the British throne until Charles III in 2022, who was 73.

# Was there a plan to dam the Mediterranean?

**SHORT ANSWER** Moses parted the Red Sea and Cnut stopped the tide, but Herman Sorgel had much bigger ambitions

**LONG ANSWER** Concerned with the state of Europe in the decade after World War I, a German architect named Herman Sorgel came up with a highly ambitious plan. He wanted to drain the Mediterranean to unite Europe and Africa into a supercontinent, which he dubbed Atlantropa.

Three colossal dams would be needed across the Strait of Gibraltar (cutting off the Atlantic), the Dardanelles (sealing the Black Sea) and from Sicily to Tunisia. The effort would bring European nations together – and so prevent further war – while providing hydroelectric energy and 660,000 square km of new land. Perhaps it's understandable to see how the scheme gained widespread support, but the scale made it utterly unrealistic. Still, Sorgel tried to make Atlantropa a reality until his death in 1952.

WHO GIVES A DAM? Herman Sorgel (*top*) hoped that his plans (*right*) would help prevent future wars

SUITS YOU, SIR Henry VIII's foot combat armour alongside a Nasa spacesuit

# Did Tudor armour inspire Nasa's spacesuits?

**SHORT ANSWER** Who knew medieval combat and flying in space had the same problems?

**LONG ANSWER** In 1962, someone at Garrett AiResearch, one of the companies trying to develop spacesuits for Nasa, contacted the Tower of London to ask for detailed images and schematics of one of the suits of armour in its collection. The armour in question had been made for King Henry VIII for the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, an exquisite suit made of 235 overlapping steel plate parts held together by sliding rivets and weighing around 42kg.

Built for foot combat rather than fighting on horseback, the armour didn't have any gaps but still gave its wearers maximum mobility, which was exactly what the astronauts needed. While Garret AiResearch got the details they wanted, the company never secured the spacesuit contract.

Despite this, what they learned was invaluable: one Nasa engineer admitted that the Tudor armour would have saved a lot of time and money if they'd known about it sooner.

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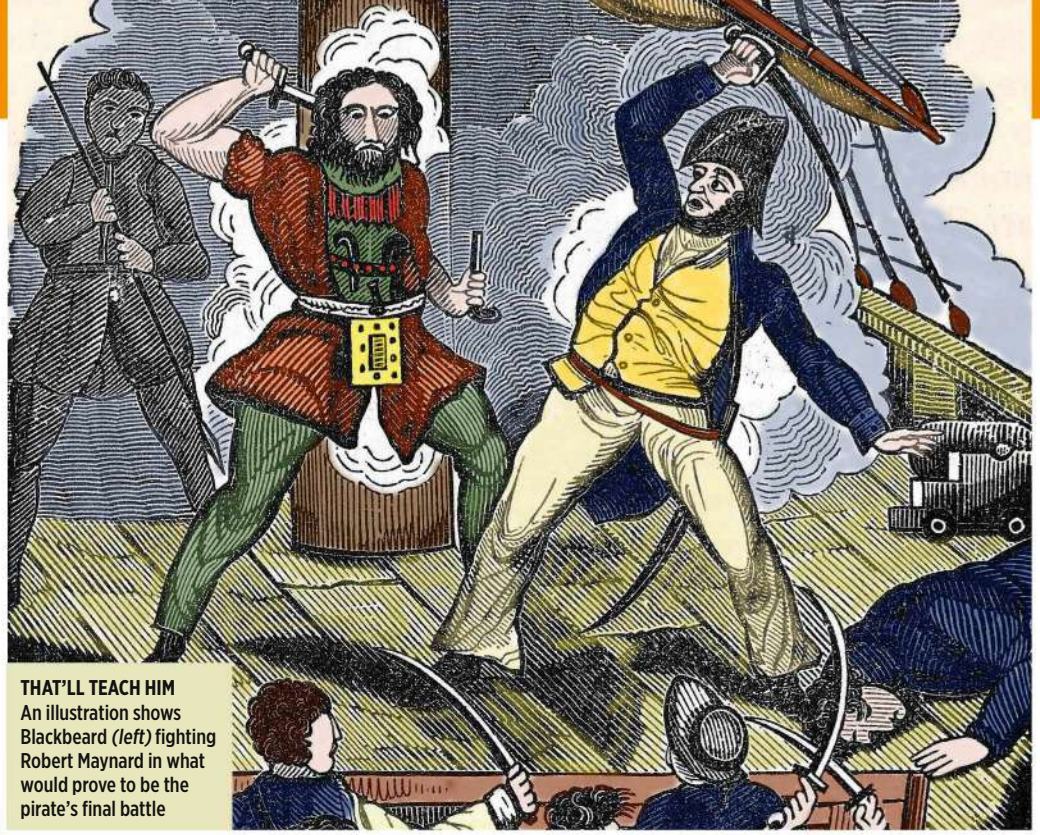


**THAT'LL TEACH HIM**
An illustration shows Blackbeard *(left)* fighting Robert Maynard in what would prove to be the pirate's final battle

# How did Blackbeard die?

**SHORT ANSWER** The pirate's final fight was worthy of his reputation. And, after death, part of him remained at sea

**LONG ANSWER** Here was a pirate who put lit firecrackers in his beard and hair to appear more demonic; whose emblem was no skull and crossbones, but a skeleton spearing a heart; and who aboard his 40-gun ship *Queen Anne's Revenge* attacked merchants and even besieged the port of Charleston. It might be safe to presume there was no way Blackbeard would rather go than in hand-to-hand combat.

In truth, Blackbeard (real name Edward Teach) was more reputation than action, as there's actually not much evidence of violence other than his last battle. On 22 November 1718, two ships with around 60 men of the Royal Navy, led by pirate hunter Lieutenant Robert Maynard, ambushed him off the coast of North Carolina. He still managed to fire a broadside that killed and wounded dozens, but Maynard had hidden some men below decks and so duped Blackbeard into thinking his forces were smaller.

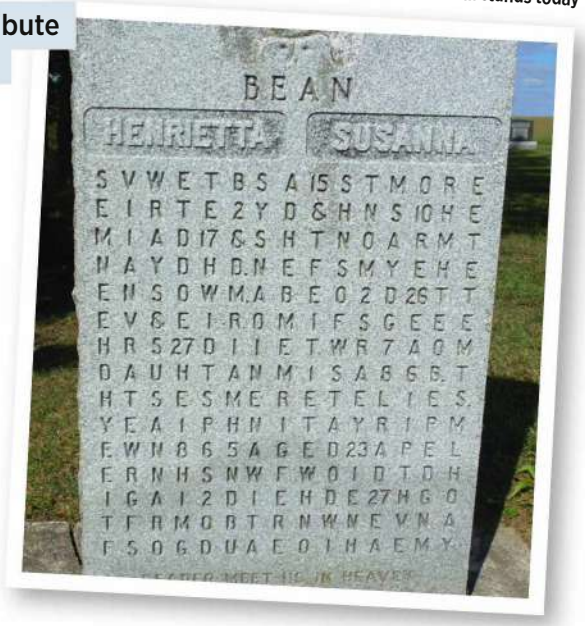
Surrounded, the pirate made a final stand in which he broke Maynard's sword, before eventually being cut down. In the end, five bullet holes and around 20 stab wounds riddled his body. As for his head, Maynard had it cut off and attached to the prow of his ship as a trophy.

# What is the Bean Puzzle Tombstone?

**SHORT ANSWER** The mysterious tribute took more than a century to read

**LONG ANSWER** When Dr Samuel Bean lost his wife, Henrietta, seven months into their marriage in 1865, and then his second wife, Susanna, by 1867, he arranged for a bewildering tombstone for them to share. Resembling a wordsearch, only Bean knew its true meaning and he died in 1904 without passing on the secret.

Despite people travelling to the cemetery in Wellesley, Ontario, to crack the code, it wouldn't be until the 1970s that a local woman revealed the answer. Bean, it turns out, left a heartfelt tribute to "2 better wives 1 man never had", which can be read in a complex spiral and crisscross pattern starting near the middle.




**FINAL WORDS**
A replica of the original stone still stands today

# What was the last slave ship in the US?

**SHORT ANSWER**
More than 50 years after the slave trade was outlawed, the *Clotilda* transported 110 Africans

**LONG ANSWER** The Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves went into effect in 1808, meaning it was no longer legal for ships to bring slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the US. That didn't stop shipowners from trying: from 1837 to 1860, 74 cases of illegal slaving were tried.

The last voyage took place in 1860, when 110 Africans were forcibly transported aboard the *Clotilda*. And all because Alabama businessman Timothy Meaher made a bet that he could get round the law. Captained by William Foster, the ship sailed from the Kingdom of Dahomey (modern-day Benin) before being scuttled near Mobile, Alabama, to hide the evidence. As for the slaves, most went to Meaher's financial backers.

After slavery's abolition in 1865, many of the now-freed slaves set up a community in Mobile called Africatown, in which some of their descendants still live today.

**FREE AT LAST**
A memorial to Cudjoe 'Kazoola' Lewis, one of the *Clotilda*'s survivors

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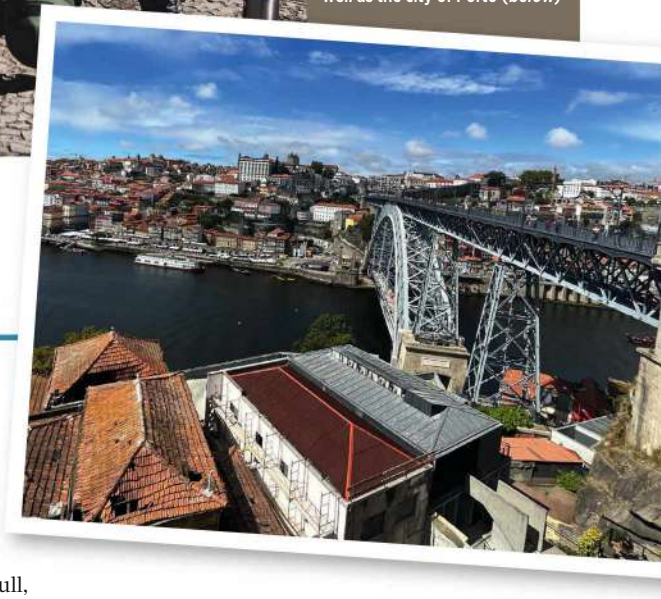
ONE TO WATCH

The fifth series of *Pilgrimage* sees a cohort of celebrities tackling the northern route of Portugal's Fátima Way, visiting sites such as the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Monte (*main*), as well as the city of Porto (*below*)



# All about the journey

**Pilgrimage** / BBC Two, starts Friday 7 April

The Chapel of the Apparitions in Cova da Iria, part of the Sanctuary of Fátima, was built to mark the spot where, in 1917, three Portuguese shepherd children claimed to have seen apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Every year, the faithful, and sometimes just those in search of a challenge, trek to a site that has become one of the world's most popular Catholic pilgrimage destinations.

What can be learnt from such hikes? It's a question that lies at the heart of *Pilgrimage*, returning here for a fifth series, and which this time around sees seven celebrities of different faiths tackling the northern route of Portugal's Fátima Way – and doing so to a schedule, so as to arrive in time to attend a candlelit vigil.

Along the way, the septet – actors Su Pollard and Rita Simons, Shane Lynch of Boyzone fame, reality star Vicky Pattison, maths whizz Bobby Seagull, comedian Nabil Abdulrashid and Paralympian skier Millie Knight – visit plenty of spots of historical interest. These include the spectacular Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Monte, a Unesco World Heritage Site, and a medieval synagogue now preserved as a museum. They also meet Sister Ana Sofia, who knew one of the shepherd children, Sister Lúcia (1907–2005).

Most of all, though, this is a series about the conversations we have when we walk together, conversations that in *Pilgrimage* inevitably turn towards the nature of belief. Catholic Bobby Seagull, for example, wants "to understand whether faith can play a big part in my life going forward". In contrast, agnostic Vicky Pattison has "never used the word pilgrimage in my life" and simply wants to get out of her "comfort zone".

Nabil Abdulrashid, a practising Muslim, says "it's kind of funny" to be doing this when, at least as an adult, he hasn't been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Nevertheless, he adds, "Watching any group of people do something for the sake of God… [is] inspiring."

BBC X2

**WEEKLY TV & RADIO**
Visit ***historyextra.com*** for updates on upcoming TV and radio programmes

Jewish rabbis from the Warsaw ghetto, 1943. An upcoming BBC Radio 4 series brings the stories of the ghetto's inhabitants to life

Motown legends such as Smokey Robinson (*far left*), shown here with The Miracles in c1960, is among the many famous names to appear in David Harewood's new series

# Cultural powerhouse

## Get on Up: The Triumph of Black America / BBC Two, April

As a child, the actor David Harewood was fascinated by the US and, in particular, by the energy of American culture. It's a culture in which the work of African-American writers, artists and performers has often been pivotal, as Harewood, who himself found Hollywood fame in *Homeland*, here explores.

Underpinning the series is the idea that African-American creatives have transformed popular culture and, in doing so, have ensured that black America has had a huge influence on the wider world.

But what is it precisely that makes African-American culture so distinctive? In a series that begins in the 1960s, the decade of his birth, and ends in the present day, Harewood meets musicians, actors, filmmakers and choreographers, as well as writers and expert commentators, as he sets out to answer this question.

Many of those interviewed for the series bring serious star power to proceedings. Smokey Robinson, for instance, as well as fronting The Miracles, also wrote or co-wrote hits that became classics, including 'Shop Around', Motown's first million-selling record, 'I Second That Emotion' and 'The Tears of a Clown'.

Look out too for contributions from Nile Rodgers of Chic fame, rapper Monie Love, choreographer Jeffrey Daniel, filmmaker Allen Hughes and Lee Grant, who co-starred opposite Sidney Poitier in the classic thriller *In the Heat of the Night*.

Harewood also meets actor John Amos, who played then adult Kunta Kinte in *Roots*, the TV series based on Alex Haley's bestselling novel, and which was inspired in part by Haley's own forebears' experiences of slavery.

Despite being born and raised in Birmingham, David Harewood has long been fascinated by American culture

## Secret history

### Warsaw Ghetto: History as Survival / BBC Radio 4, April

Established in 1940, the ghetto in Warsaw was essentially a vast prison in which the Nazis interned hundreds of thousands of Jewish people. Conditions were horrific. As many as 100,000 died of starvation and disease before, in 1942, mass deportations to the Treblinka extermination camp began.

It's a history that was recorded by some of those who were there in the Oyneg Shabes archive, which began as an individual chronicle by historian, activist and social worker Emanuel Ringelblum.

This 10-part series uses the archive, which was buried to keep it from the Nazis, to look back at daily life in the ghetto. Elliott Levey voices Ringelblum, while Alfred Molina reads the words of Peretz Opoczynki, journalist, poet and ghetto postman. Tracy-Ann Oberman is Rachel Auerbach, who survived World War II and dedicated much of her life to gathering the first-hand testimony of Holocaust survivors.

Oscar-winner Olivia Colman, pictured with Shalom Brune-Franklin (*main*) and Fionn Whitehead (*right*), plays Miss Havisham in a fresh take on *Great Expectations*

GETTY IMAGES X4, BBC/MIYA MIZUNO X2, ROBERT SHRET X1, A&E TELEVISION NETWORKS 1996-2023 X1

# Murders most horrid

## Lady Killers with Lucy Worsley / BBC Radio 4 and BBC Sounds, March

Dr Lucy Worsley (*bottom left*) looks at eight new cases, including that of Edith Thompson, seen in the image below with her husband Percy (*right*) and lover Frederick Bywaters (*left*)

As joint chief curator at Historic Royal Palaces, the charity responsible for maintaining such locales as the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace, Dr Lucy Worsley could reasonably be said to be someone close to the heart of the British establishment. And yet she's anything but a conservative figure.

Over the years, in her books and series, she has consistently offered new takes on stories with which, it turns out, we only think we're familiar. The first series of *Lady Killers with Lucy Worsley* was a case in point for the way the show looked beyond the sensationalism that even now surrounds such figures as Lizzie Borden (1860–1927), who in 1892 was tried and acquitted of the axe murders of her father and stepmother, to offer a contemporary and feminist take on these crimes.

The second series, featuring eight new investigations and two discussion shows, again focuses in great part on the 19th century but also takes in cases from the 20th century, such as that of 'flapper' Edith Thompson, who in 1923 was hanged for the murder of her husband, Percy. One of the strangest and most troubling facets of the case is that she was executed for a stabbing she witnessed rather than carried out herself.

Further back in time, Worsley looks anew at the case of Mary McKinnon, who in the early 1820s ran an Edinburgh tavern that was also a brothel. Did her trial, which saw her accused of stabbing a man, see McKinnon treated unfairly because of prejudice against sex workers? And has the way society treats sex workers changed since then?

# Social climber

## Great Expectations / BBC One, April

Orphan Philip Pirrip, better known as Pip, is among the most beloved of Charles Dickens' heroes. That's perhaps because the narrator of *Great Expectations* is someone who, for all his wrong turns, nevertheless learns from his experiences and makes amends for his errors.

It helps too that Dickens' 13th novel features scenes and characters as grotesque and eerie as they are fascinating. Think, for example, of Pip's encounters with the escaped convicts Magwitch and Compeyson out on the Thames marshes. Or with Miss Havisham, a jilted spinster who insists on wearing her wedding dress for the rest of her life and resides in a crumbling mansion along with her adopted daughter, Estella, for whom Pip falls badly despite Estella's haughty demeanour.

It's all rich material for writer Steven Knight (creator of *Peaky Blinders* and *SAS Rogue Heroes*) whose new adaptation boasts a starry cast headed by Olivia Colman (*The Favourite*) as Miss Havisham and Fionn Whitehead (*Dunkirk*) as Pip. The ensemble cast also features Ashley Thomas as the lawyer Jaggers, Johnny Harris as Magwitch and Shalom Brune-Franklin as Estella. Look out too for a comic turn from Matt Berry as the pompous Mr Pumblechook.

# Colonial gothic

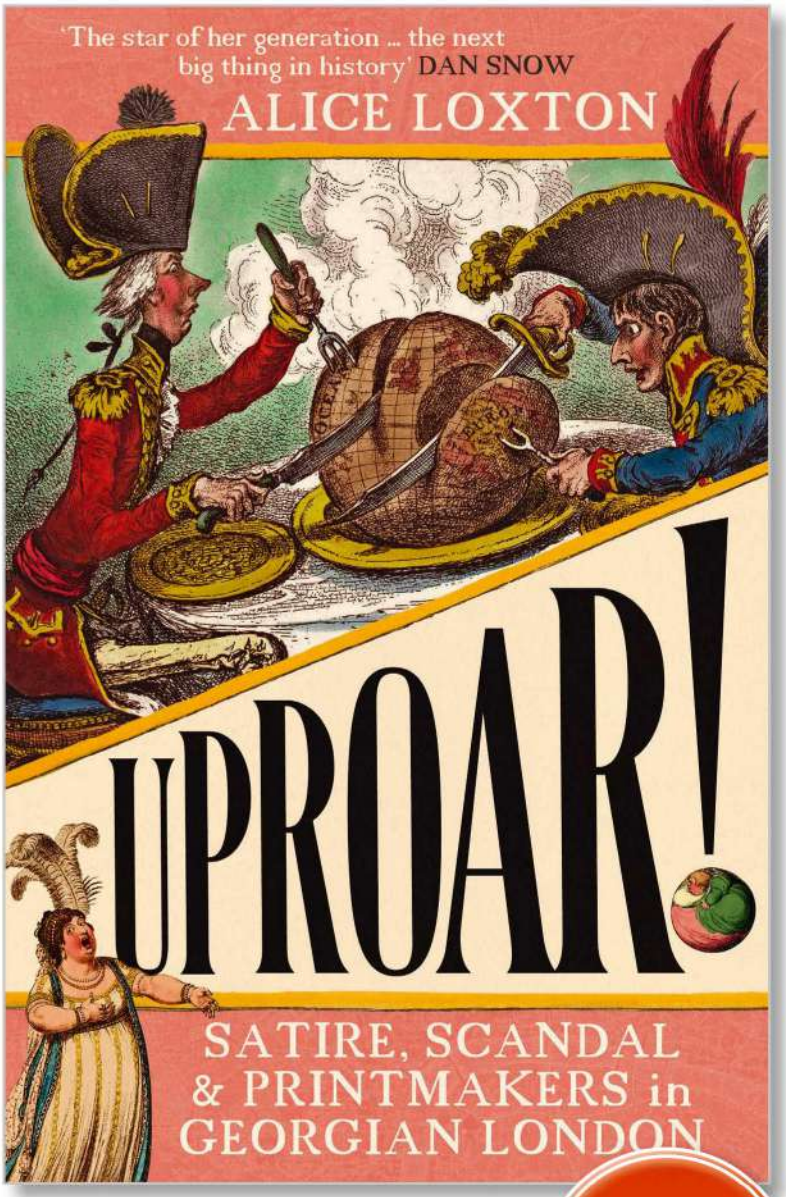
## The Witches of Salem / Sky History, starts Monday 13 March

The mass hysteria that gripped the inhabitants of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692 had terrible consequences. In a Puritan community where the machinations of the Devil were seen as a constant threat, more than 200 people found themselves accused of witchcraft, of whom 19 were executed. Another man, Giles Corey, was pressed to death after refusing to enter a plea when he was arrested.

This four-part drama-documentary, narrated by Mark Strong, looks back at this febrile chapter in America's colonial history, which still has the power to shock today.

# BOOKS & PODCASTS

THIS MONTH'S BEST HISTORICAL READS AND LISTENS


'The star of her generation ... the next big thing in history' DAN SNOW
ALICE LOXTON
UPROAR!
SATIRE, SCANDAL & PRINTMAKERS in GEORGIAN LONDON

BOOK OF THE MONTH

## UPROAR!: Satire, Scandal and Printmakers in Georgian London

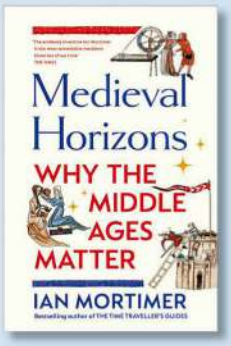
**By Alice Loxton**
**Icon Books, £25, hardback, 416 pages**

The Georgian penchant for satire and salaciousness, for exposing the corruption and depravity behind those powdered exteriors, is explored in this vibrant book. It focuses on the work of three satirists – James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and Isaac Cruikshank – and the ways in which their imaginative, irreverent printmaking sent shockwaves through the 18th-century political and social establishment. It was a heady era of revolutionary ideas, cultural innovation and celebrity intrigue, and Alice Loxton manages to bring it vividly to life.

## Medieval Horizons: Why the Middle Ages Matter

**By Ian Mortimer**
**Bodley Head, £22, hardback, 256 pages**

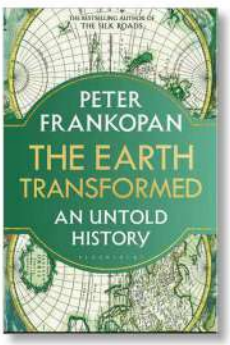
It's easy, from a 21st-century vantage point, to characterise the Middle Ages as an unchanging, backward period of brutality and barbarism. Not so, argues Ian Mortimer in this spirited defence of the era, which urges us to view it instead as a time of ongoing societal and cultural transformation. Not only that, he suggests, but it represents a key moment in shaping the world as we know it today. Overall, this is typically compelling stuff from one of the leading experts on the subject.

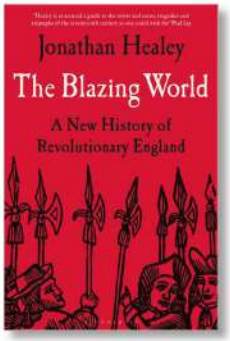



## The Earth Transformed: An Untold History

**By Peter Frankopan**
**Bloomsbury, £30, hardback, 736 pages**

The author of 2015's bestselling *The Silk Roads* here turns his attention to the long history of humankind's relationship with the natural world. It's a suitably epic tale of a species shaped by droughts, volcanoes, earthquakes and shifting temperatures, but also of a determination to adapt and push back against those forces. Throughout, Peter Frankopan sets out to reestablish the climate – and nature more generally – as a key factor in understanding human development across the centuries.






## The Blazing World: A New History of Revolutionary England

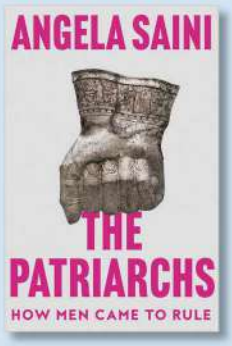
**By Jonathan Healey**
**Bloomsbury, £30, hardback, 512 pages**

The political tumult of England in the 1640s is the dramatic subject of many a history lesson: Charles I's run-ins with Parliament, the ensuing military clashes, and the king's eventual sticky end. Yet the longer roots of those upheavals, and their place in the wider renegotiations taking place between the nation's people and its government, are less familiar. Jonathan Healey's account plunges us into this maelstrom, inviting us to reconsider our assumptions about this turbulent period.

## The Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule

**By Angela Saini**
**Fourth Estate, £20, hardback, 320 pages**

Why is gender inequality such a recurrent feature of societies across the centuries and around the world? That's the question at the heart of this probing, provocative book, which blends history, science and archaeology in a bid to look anew at systems of patriarchy and male dominance. Guiding readers from the very first human settlements to the origins of 21st-century social structures – and how they might be challenged – Angela Saini is compelling and thought-provoking throughout.



## The Walled Garden

**By Sarah Hardy**
**Manilla Press, £14.99, hardback, 400 pages**

Sarah Hardy's debut novel delves into the long shadow cast by World War II in the months and years following the conflict. Stephen Rayne has come home to the Suffolk village of Oakbourne a changed man, traumatised by the scenes he has witnessed and the deeds he has done. But he's not the only one to bear such scars: his wife, Alice, is left confused and isolated, retreating to the solace of her walled garden. As the seasons change, hope looks set to finally, slowly, return.

# PODCAST WHAT TO LISTEN TO...

**Each month we bring you three of our favourite podcasts from the BBC and HistoryExtra**

## Marie Antoinette in her own words

**bit.ly/MariePod119**

When thinking of Marie Antoinette, you'd be forgiven if just two things came to mind: cake, and enormous wigs. This episode of the *HistoryExtra* podcast aims to correct that, as Professor Catriona Seth reveals the woman behind the myth. It goes a long way to humanise a queen often thought of in purely two-dimensional terms.

## You're Dead to Me: the early medieval papacy

**bit.ly/JennerPod119**

Greg Jenner's history podcast continues to go from strength to strength. This episode, on the early medieval papacy, ably demonstrates why it's so popular, taking a seemingly niche topic and making it fun. Other recent instalments apply the same lively lens to subjects including Georgian courtship and South Asia's Indus civilisation.

## Overlooked LGBTQ+ histories

**bit.ly/OverlookedPod119**

Charting the lives of LGBTQ+ people in history can be rewarding and important – but it can also be complex, difficult work. Here, a diverse panel of experts considers the challenges of telling such stories, the issues of doing so from our present-day perspective, and the experiences and identities that we continue to overlook.

# EVENTS & EXHIBITIONS

WHAT TO SEE AND WHERE TO VISIT IN THE WIDER WORLD OF HISTORY

MUST SEE

Visitors to Liverpool's World Museum will be able to view a stunning statue of Apollo (*right*), as well as an ivory diptych depicting Hygieia, goddess of health, and Asclepius, god of medicine (*below*)

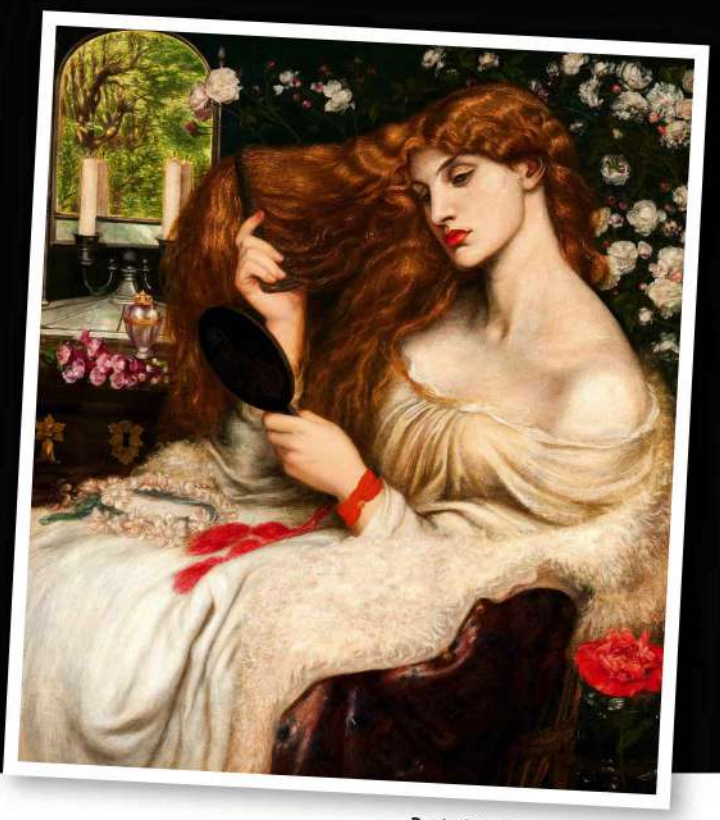
DELAWARE AER MUSEUM, SAMUEL AND MARY R. BANCROFT MEMORIAL, 1935 X1, NATIONAL MUSEUM LIVERPOOL X2

EXHIBITION

## Return of the Gods

More than 100 items from the collection of Lancashire antiquarian Henry Blundell will be brought together for the first time in this new exhibition at Liverpool's World Museum, devoted to the deities of Greece and Rome. Packed with immersive displays, visitors will be able to discover the thrills and spills of the ancient myths, while getting the chance to marvel at two-metre-high statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena.

**PAID ENTRY** World Museum, Liverpool, 28 April 2023 – 25 February 2024, *liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/world-museum*



Dante Gabriel Rossetti's painting *Lady Lilith* is one of the key pieces in Tate Britain's new exhibition

EXHIBITION

## Pirates

Co-produced with Royal Museums Greenwich, this swashbuckling new exhibition in Falmouth promises to be fun for all the family. Through interactive exhibits and displays of historic artefacts, visitors will be able to learn about the real history of piracy in the Caribbean, uncovering the truth behind the portrayals seen on screen.

**PAID ENTRY** National Maritime Museum, Falmouth, opens 31 March 2023, *nmmc.co.uk/2023/01/pirates*

FESTIVAL

## Military History Weekend

Weston-super-Mare's popular living history festival returns for another weekend of military displays, complete with costumed reenactors, equipment and vehicles – all in the shadow of Weston Airfield's restored WWII-era control tower. There will also be live music and a parade by the Royal British Legion.

**PAID ENTRY** The Helicopter Museum, Weston-super-Mare, 1–2 April 2023, *helicoptermuseum.co.uk/events.htm#April*

EXHIBITION

## The Rossettis

The Rossettis were among the most culturally influential families of the 19th century, known for their paintings, poetry and progressive attitudes. This major Tate retrospective explores the world in which the Rossettis lived, largely focusing on the painter and poet Dante Gabriel, his poet sister, Christina, and artist wife, Elizabeth Siddal.

**PAID ENTRY** Tate Britain, London, 6 April – 24 September 2023, *tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/the-rossettis*

# CROSSWORD

TEST YOURSELF WITH OUR HISTORICAL PUZZLE EVERY ISSUE

## CROSSWORD No. 119

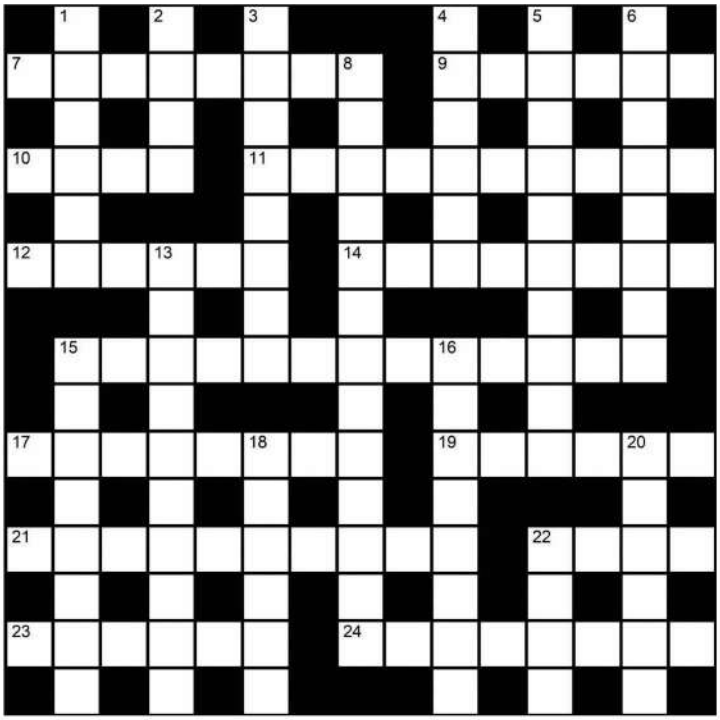
**Test your history knowledge to solve our prize puzzle – and you could win a fantastic new book**

### ACROSS

**7** Prisoner pardoned by Roman governor Pontius Pilate (8)
**9** Other name for the Kenya Land and Freedom Army, which resisted British colonialism (3,3)
**10** Victorian resort town in north Wales (4)
**11** Mayer Amschel ___ (1744–1812), German-Jewish financier and founder of a powerful banking dynasty (10)
**12** *Shakespeare* ___, 1998 historical comedy film (2,4)
**14** International Committee of the ___, organisation founded in 1863 (3,5)
**15** US abolitionist and women's rights activist (1820–1906) (5,1,7)
**17** English writer, poet and critic (1925–94), associated with The Movement (4,4)
**19** One of the Apostles of Jesus Christ; son of Jonah (6)
**21** Naval craftsman (10)
**22** John Forbes ___ Jr (1928–2015), US mathematician (4)
**23** African country declared a Marxist–Leninist one-party Republic in 1975 (6)
**24** Major city of the Mali empire from the 14th century (8)

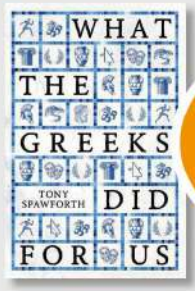
### DOWN

**1** Imperial capital of Charlemagne (c747–814 AD) (6)
**2** John ___ (d1381), English priest and leader of the Peasants' Revolt (4)
**3** Scottish city granted Royal burgh status by King David I (c1082–1153) (8)
**4** "We are not ___" – quote famously misattributed to Queen Victoria (6)
**5** Ernest ___ (1871–1937), New Zealand-born pioneering nuclear physicist (10)
**6** Historic dock town on the Wirral Peninsula (8)
**8** ___ *and Sunday Morning*, 1958 novel by Alan Sillitoe (8,5)
**13** 1858 conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon III (6,4)
**15** Native tribe of western North America (8)
**16** One of the 1819 Odes by Romantic poet John Keats (2,6)
**18** Name chosen by the only Englishman to be pope, Nicholas Breakspear (d1159) (6)
**20** Term for replacement divisions of the German Army early in World War I (6)
**22** Greenland capital, founded in 1728 (4)



Set by Richard Smyth

## CHANCE TO WIN




BOOK WORTH £20 FOR THREE WINNERS

**What the Greeks Did for Us**
**by Tony Spawforth**

### HOW TO ENTER

Post entries to **BBC History Revealed, April 2023 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester, LE94 0AA** or email them to **april2023@historyrevealedcomps.co.uk** by noon on **1 May 2023**.

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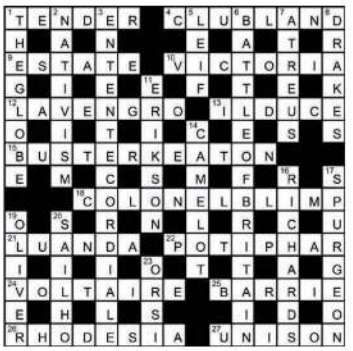
## SOLUTION Nº 117



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The competition is open to all UK residents (inc. Channel Islands), aged 18 or over, except Immediate Media Co London Ltd employees or contractors, and anyone connected with the competition or their direct family members. By entering, participants agree to be bound by these terms and conditions and that their name and county may be released if they win. Only one entry per person.

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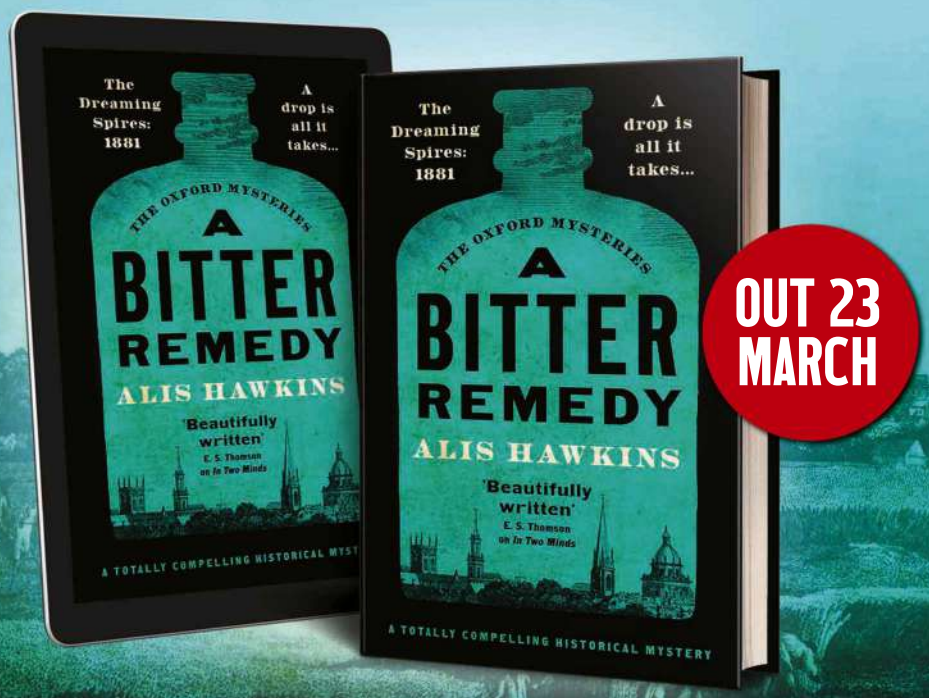
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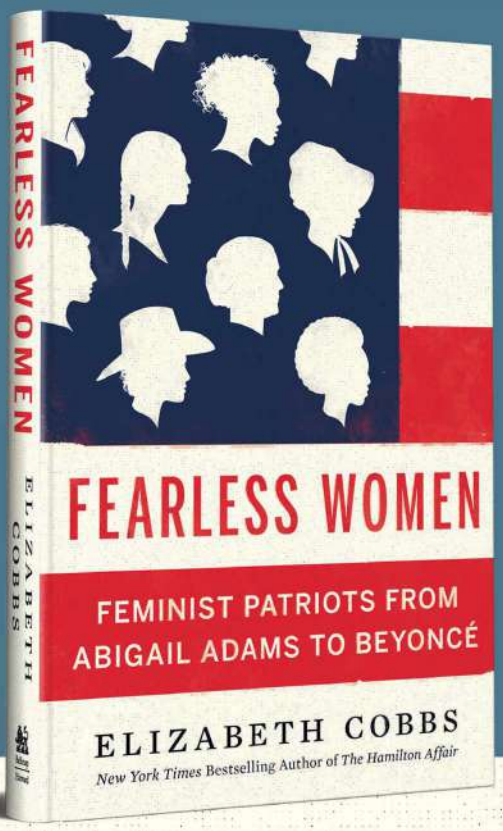
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## CROSSWORD WINNERS

The three lucky winners of the prize crossword in issue 116 are as follows:

**L Ashley, West Sussex**
**M Berry, North Yorkshire**
**B Hair, North Yorkshire**

Congratulations! You've each won a copy of *Mr Horniman's Walrus*, by Clare Paterson.

We will post your prizes out as soon as possible.

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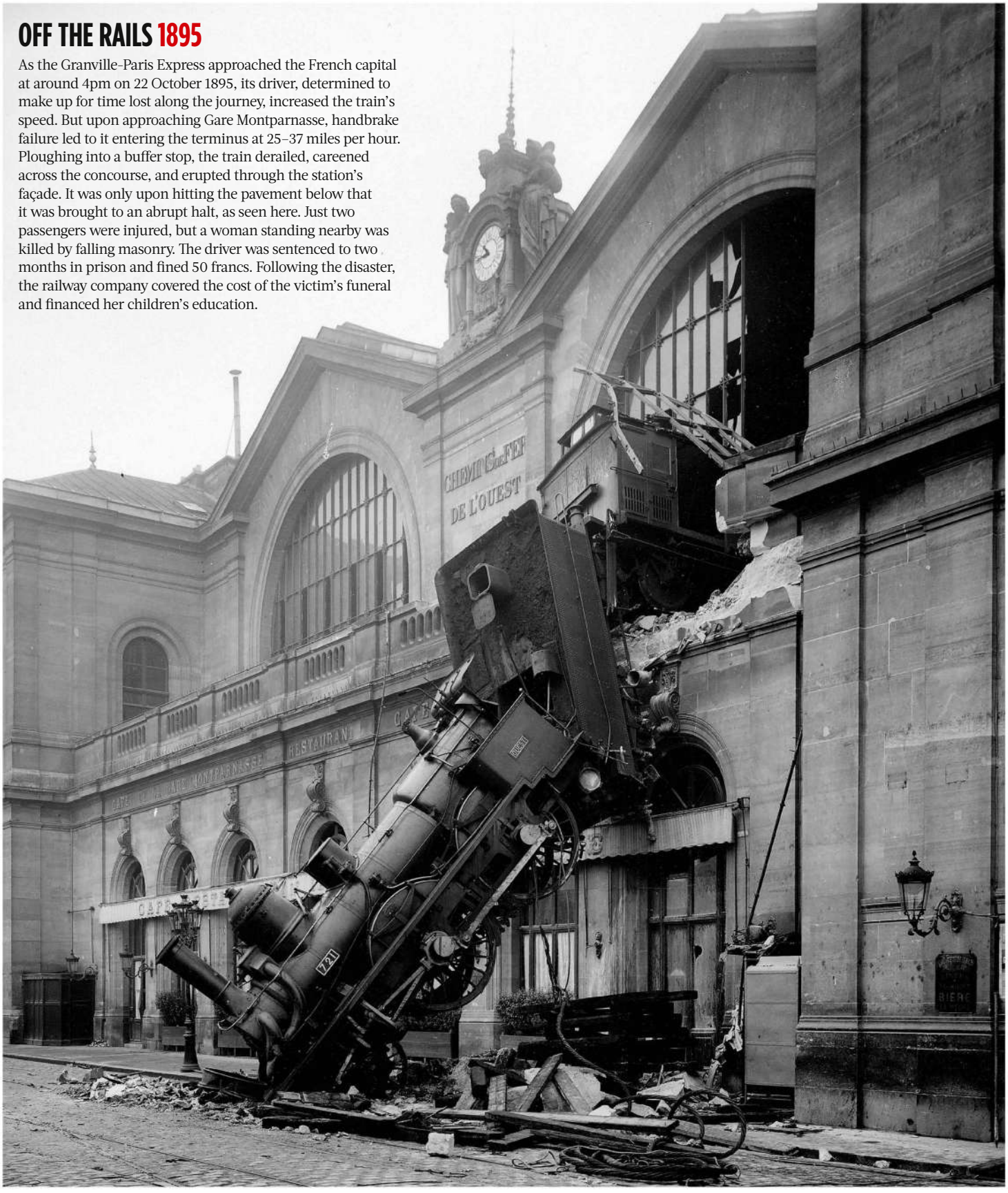


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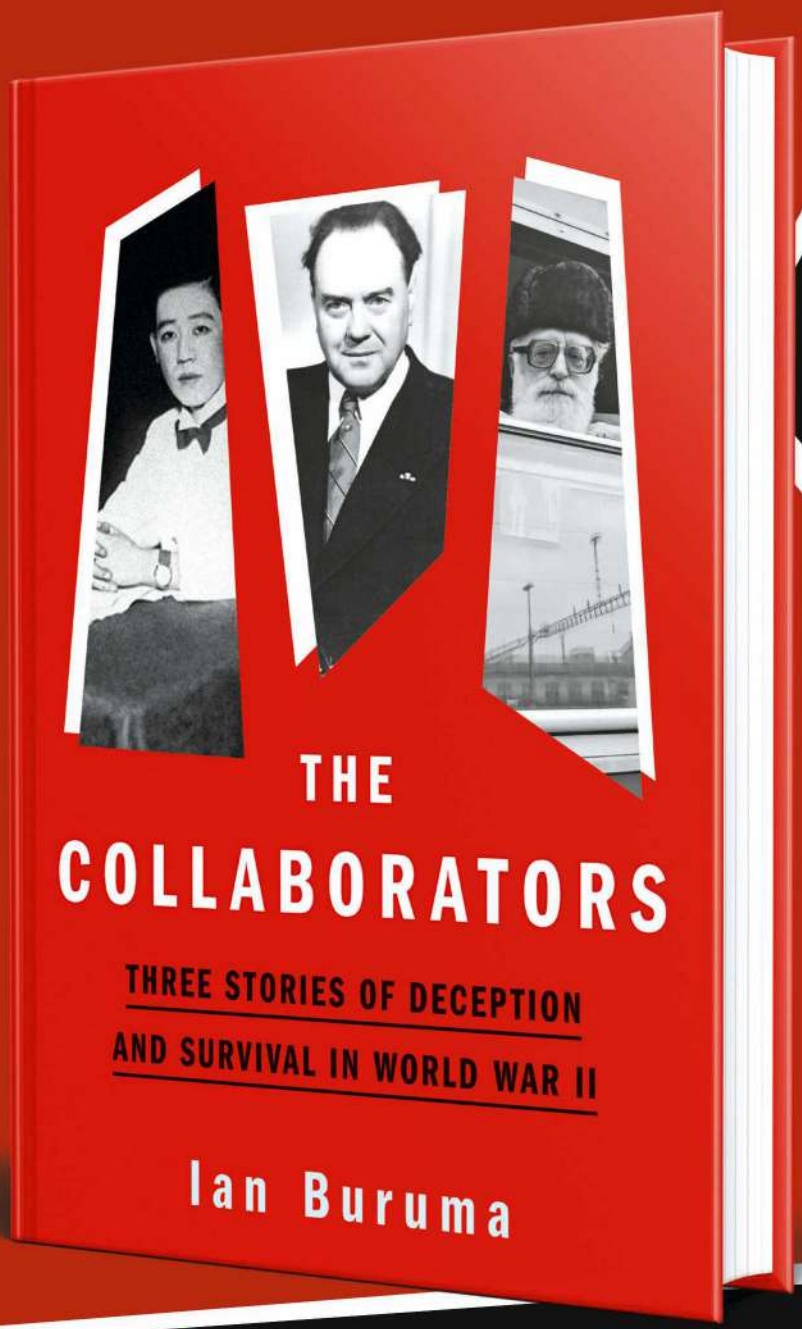


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Joliet, Illinois, U.S., Catholic Diocese of Joliet, Sacramental Records, 1800-1976 – **NEW**

Aisne, France Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1513-1905 – **UPDATED**

*Record collections subject to change.